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LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH, III  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS (January-June, 1922)

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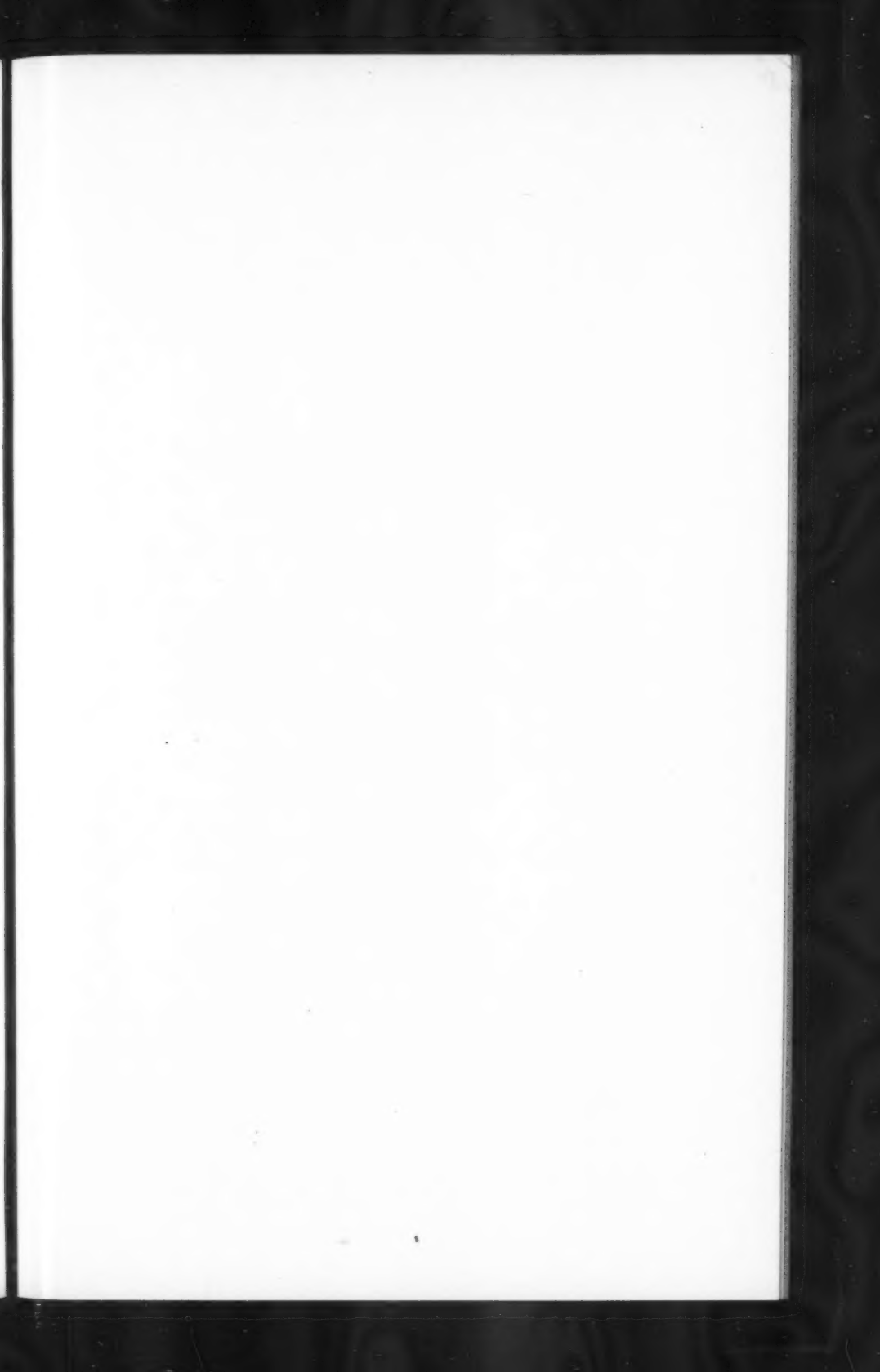


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VASE FROM SARDES: ACTUAL SIZE.

SIXTH PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE AMERICAN  
EXCAVATIONS AT SARDES IN ASIA MINOR

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[PLATE VI]

OWING to the untimely death of Professor Howard Crosby Butler, who initiated the project of American archaeological work at Sardes, and conducted successful excavations there for five years, it has fallen to the lot of the present writer to make a report of the results accomplished during the sixth season of excavations in 1922. Professor Butler was detained by his duties at Princeton and reached Sardes only about the middle of May. There, while pursuing investigations in the neighborhood of the site, he contracted malarial fever which ravaged his system and led indirectly to his death a few weeks later, while he was on his way home. Thus the name of another martyr to archaeological science is inscribed on the rolls of the great men who have gone before. An abiding memorial to his fame will be the magnificent results of his work at Sardes. Fortunately the account of his campaigns there for five seasons, in the years 1910 to 1914, was completed by his own hand, and has just been published as Vol. I, *Sardis, The Excavations. Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis* (E. J. Brill, Ltd. Leyden). He had also practically completed his architectural study of the temple of Artemis and the book on this subject will be published in the near future as Vol. II of the Publications. Too warm a tribute cannot be paid to Professor Butler's talent for organization, and to his perfect understanding of native psychology, by which he not only surrounded himself by a loyal and enthusiastic group of associates and employees, but became as much an object of devotion to the Turkish workmen as he was to his students at home.

In the years succeeding 1914 when work at Sardes itself was necessarily suspended because of the Great War, intensive study of the material previously discovered has resulted in the publication, or preparation for publication, of several volumes in the

Sardes series, in addition to those by Professor Butler that have been already mentioned. In 1916 there were published Vol. VI, *Lydian Inscriptions*, by Enno Littmann, and Vol. XI, *Coins*, by H. W. Bell. Other volumes on inscriptions, pottery, terracottas, sculpture and jewelry are in preparation and will soon be issued. The uncertain political situation in Asia Minor postponed from year to year the resumption of actual excavations at Sardes, and when in 1921 it became possible for a member of the Expedition to visit the site the house belonging to the Expedition was found in ruins, and but few shattered remnants of the antiquities that had been left there were still seen in the debris.

In the spring of 1922 the district in which Sardes is located was in control of Greek military forces and conditions seemed sufficiently stable to warrant the undertaking of a limited archaeological campaign. The Expedition was conducted in the name of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, and the staff, in addition to Professor Butler and the writer, included two veterans of Sardes campaigns, William R. Berry and Edward R. Stoeber, and two architects who came to Sardes for the first time, Gordon McCormick and Lansing C. Holden, Jr. It is a pleasure to record that in the face of many difficulties and much hardship the members of the staff worked together with the utmost enthusiasm and with the greatest degree of cooperation. Many facilities were afforded the Expedition by the Greek civil and military authorities, and nothing could exceed the loyalty and devotion to the Expedition on the part of the Turkish foreman and laborers.

The immediate aims of the campaign, which began about March first and continued a little over three months, were the clearance of the ruins of the house, the removal of any remaining antiquities to a place of safety, and especially the determination by trial trenches and sub-surface prospecting of promising sections of the site for future exploitation. In the process of clearing up the house it became apparent that many objects had been stolen, in addition to the antiquities that had been injured and broken, of which pieces were still scattered about. The entire collection of complete Lydian vases was missing, as well as the large series of Greek and Roman lamps. These had evidently been carefully packed and removed by the plunderers, as no sherds or broken pieces were scattered on the ground. Many other objects also were missing, including several marble pieces of

Lydian architecture of unusual archaeological interest, a marble head of the Scopas type, and, special cause for regret! the beautifully-executed marble horse's head, found at the very end of the season of 1914, and here shown in Fig. 1. It seems probable that these objects were carried far afield for, although over two thou-



FIGURE 1.—LIFE-SIZE MARBLE HORSE'S HEAD FOUND AT SARDES IN 1914.

sand pieces were missing, persistent inquiry failed to reveal any evidence that a single one had reached the hands of collectors or dealers in Smyrna. Fortunately the scientific record of these objects is in most cases complete, and all, with the exception of the lamps, are now in process of publication. The attention of archaeologists is directed to this theft and an earnest request is made on the part of the Sardes Expedition that any knowledge of

the whereabouts of these antiquities be kindly communicated to some member of the organization.

The campaign of 1922, though of brief duration, was productive of important archaeological results. As in previous years the objects unearthed belong to various periods of occupation, ranging from the Lydian through Greek and Roman to the Byzantine age. Conspicuous among the distinctively Lydian products are numerous terra-cotta architectural tiles with moulded reliefs of geometrical designs, of floral patterns and of animals. These designs are painted in bright red and deep black colors on a creamy white background, and in almost all cases the colors are



FIGURE 2.—PAINTED TERRA-COTTA TILE FROM SARDES: LENGTH, 0.42 M.

well preserved. In the process of excavating the tiles some comparative material important for their dating was secured. As reported in the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY*, XV, 1911, p. 457, in the campaign of 1911 at Sardes excavation of the area on top of a bluff, at the foot of a hill of tombs west of the Pactolus, had brought to light numerous plain and painted roof tiles. Professor Butler regarded these as an earnest of interesting results to be secured from further excavation at this point. This prediction was fulfilled during the present season when the restricted area in question was completely cleared. As in the earlier excavation very many of the roof tiles that were discovered were either undecorated or ornamented simply by a broad sweep of the brush dipped in red paint. By far the greater number were of the wide flat or of the peaked cover variety, but among the pieces were also several complete tiles and numerous fragments, with moulded and painted designs, that had formed parts of decorative friezes, or of highly ornate sima bands with spouts attached. The two most common patterns are shown in Figs. 2 and 3. The design

illustrated in Fig. 2 consists of alternative scroll and star motives set in metopes, framed by moulded bands painted in bright red color. The designs are moulded in fairly high relief and all are painted in red and black on a creamy white ground. In the central metope the scrolls are painted black while their four terminal knobs and all the drops and other decorations are red. In the case of the other metopes the round central disc and the rays alone are black, the quadruple palmette ornament being red. But this scheme of color distribution as applied to this type of tile is by no means constant, for in another specimen the scrolls are red and the knobs and drops black, while in still another there is a



FIGURE 3.—PAINTED TERRA-COTTA TILE FROM SARDES: LENGTH, 0.49 M.

bold intermixture of colors which has resulted in the central part of the scroll being painted red, the upper and lower parts black, with the drops alternately red and black. The patterns are executed by a mould but are finished by hand, and some specimens are finished much more elegantly than others. But in all cases the sweeping curves and the brilliant colors make a pleasing and effective design.

The type of tile shown in Fig. 3 is represented by two examples that are practically complete, in addition to numerous fragments. Like the tiles of the preceding type these were decorated *simabands* with orifice and spout for draining water, the spout fitting one specimen being found beside it. The length of the complete tile here illustrated is 49 centimeters and the height is 19.7 centimeters. The scheme of decoration consists of three bands of which the upper, with a raised border painted red, shows a series of palmettes and lotus blossoms in red and black. At each end of the series is a half lotus to which seven units succeed, arranged alternately. The colors are effectively intermingled to secure a

striking decorative pattern, the plumes of the palmette being painted alternately red and black, the upper half of the lotus red, the lower half black and the stamen black. From each palmette and lotus hang down red dart-shaped drops. Below the palmette and lotus band, separated by a moulded ridge that is painted red, is a plain band in white and below this a band of primitive egg and dart design, the swelling of the egg being white, the rims black and the darts red. Between two sets of eggs, three on each side, is placed the spout, which is red on top but underneath is decorated with a black lozenge on a white ground within a red border. This is aesthetically one of the most satisfying designs on the tiles. It is executed with life and vigor, and the skilful hand of the artist is revealed in the sweep of the brush and in the finish of the curves. The colors, while brilliant, are harmoniously blended.

Numerous other tiles were found decorated with various patterns, some apparently of a more archaic, others of a more developed style, but in all cases the colors, which were unusually well preserved, were limited to the three stated in the previous description, red, black and white. Among the many examples with geometrical and floral designs two were discovered which had representations of animals in relief. These are by far the most beautiful and interesting found this year. They are both pieces from the same *sima*, and unfortunately neither is complete. One fragment shows a pair of horses galloping to the right, executed in high rounded relief on the field of the tile, between a broad raised border above and a narrow border below. The tile is broken just back of the middle of the horses but enough is preserved to show that one horse is painted red, while the other, of which only the front of the head is visible, is black. Below the horses is a dog, also running to the right, which is painted with black spots on a white body. The composition which is carefully finished in all details is full of spirit and would seem to belong to a highly developed period of art. The second piece of this *sima* is a tile with a spout, and as the spout would obviously interfere with the group as represented on the other tile the artist was obliged to alter his design. He solved his problem in a clever manner by representing only the forepart of a horse which is rearing over the edge of the spout. It is probable that some design was introduced in the field between the rearing horses, but the present example is not preserved sufficiently to give



any indication as to what the subject of this may have been. These tiles are of such beauty and archaeological interest that it is hoped to publish a more detailed study of them in a later number of this JOURNAL.

In the course of excavation of these tiles two discoveries were made that should prove of considerable importance in helping to determine the approximate chronology of the entire class of this type of product. In the midst of the tiles and at a depth of 1.35 meters below the surface of the ground was found a skeleton lying



FIGURE 4.—SHERDS OF "MELIAN" TYPE: SARDES.

in a kind of "sarcophagus" that was made of roof tiles. Most of these tiles were undecorated, but among them and forming part of one side of the sarcophagus were two moulded tiles, of which one is shown in Fig. 2. As the decorated side of the tile was turned toward the interior of the grave the brilliant colors are extremely well preserved. Nothing was found in the grave with the skeleton except sherds of Lydian pottery of a kind that from previous finds at Sardes has been dated in the sixth century before Christ. The significance of this discovery lies in the fact that a grave on hard pan, containing only Lydian pottery, and with Lydian ware all about it, was constructed of terra-cotta tiles from a building that must obviously have been erected at a far earlier period.

The second circumstance of chronological importance in connection with the tiles was the presence among them of fragments

of two huge thick-walled amphorae. One of these vessels is covered with a creamy white slip on which concentric circles and other geometrical ornaments are painted in red. Two large pieces of this vase show the horn, neck and forepart of a grazing deer, beneath which is a water-fowl as well as several geometrical designs all painted in the same tone of red. Fig. 4 gives an illustration of these fragments reproduced from a photograph. Of the second vessel only one large piece was recovered, but the thickness of the clay marks it also as belonging to a very large vase. The decoration consists of a conventionalized pig, painted



FIGURE 5.—VASE FROM SARDES:  
HEIGHT, 24.9 CM. -

in black on the white ground, with concentric circles in the field. This ware resembles strongly the Melian amphorae which are dated in the seventh century before Christ. The fragments are very archaic in appearance and furnish valuable evidence for an early date for the tiles. Furthermore the determination of an approximate date in this connection is important also in its application to the Lydian pottery,

of which quantities of sherds were found in the same area. In one case, where almost all the pieces were preserved, it was possible to reconstitute the stately and graceful crater which is illustrated in Fig. 5. The ware represented by this vase is characteristically Lydian and is found commonly in many parts of the site. If, as has just been suggested, the tiles can be proved to date from the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century before Christ the pottery found associated with them will, in general, be from the same period.

A lucky find, made by Mr. Stoeber, in a field in the third ravine north of the temple of Artemis, of an archaic tile with the hind-quarters of a bull in black on a white ground, led indirectly to the most important discovery of the season. Because of the presence of the early tile and the statement of the natives that similar tiles had been seen by them in the neighborhood some years ago, it seemed desirable to make trial excavations in the hillock on the north side of this wady. Everywhere these trials were produc-

tive of interesting results, but the great discovery was made at the east end of the hill on April thirteenth. Here just 60 centimeters below the surface of the ground was uncovered a small pot, without handles, 11.8 centimeters high, made of coarse gray clay. The exact spot where the vase was lying is marked by the workman's pick in Fig. 6; the vase itself is reproduced in Fig. 7. The pot appeared to be packed full of damp earth but when this was removed was found to contain thirty gold staters of Croesus,



FIGURE 6.—SPOT WHERE GOLD STATERS OF CROESUS WERE FOUND: SARDES.

of which a selected number are illustrated in Fig. 8. These coins are of uniform type but vary slightly in shape, size and weight. They are made from irregularly shaped lumps of gold which have been stamped on the obverse with representations of the foreparts of a lion and of a bull facing each other. On the reverse are two incuse squares of different sizes of which the larger is always back of the lion. Though the coins are of varying weights the total difference between the extremes is small, the lightest weight being just 8 grammes and the heaviest 8.094 grammes. There is also similar variation in length ranging from 15 to 18.25 millimeters.

Since the researches of Lenormant, Six, Head and others it

has been generally agreed that a series of electrum coins, with a representation of a lion's head on the obverse and on the reverse an incuse square, are issues of the kings of Lydia, continuing through the reign of Alyattes. But as the Lydian Empire developed in commercial as well as in political power it appeared that the use of electrum for coinage, because of uncertainty of exact value, was a handicap to trade. Croesus, therefore, when he succeeded to the throne in 561 B.C. apparently reformed the currency by putting it on a gold basis. He issued a gold stater

of 10.89 grammes that was equivalent in value to the electrum stater of 14.52 grammes at the normal ratio of 3 to 4. The design on the obverse of the new gold coins portrayed the foreparts of the facing lion and bull in clear distinction to the lion's head of the earlier series. This coin, however, did not prove satisfactory as a medium of exchange, perhaps because of its fractional relationship to



FIGURE 7.—VASE WHICH CONTAINED GOLD STATERS: SARDES: HEIGHT, 0.118 M.

the stater of the Phocaeans, the common unit of the Ionians. Therefore Croesus further improved his financial system by adopting a gold coin that was one-half the weight of the Phocaean stater and ten times the value of the Babylonian silver unit. If the view thus briefly stated is correct, as far as the main outlines of the financial reforms of Croesus are concerned, it is possible to fix an approximate date for the coins under discussion. After Croesus succeeded his father in 561 B.C. some time must have elapsed before the completion of his fiscal reforms with their radical changes from the long established system which he inherited from his ancestors. Time must also be allowed for his experimentation with a unit which he subsequently abandoned

for a more convenient medium. From these various considerations it cannot be far from the truth to select as a round date for the coins the year 550 B.C.

The determination of this date is of special importance when applied to the pottery that was found in the immediate neighbor-

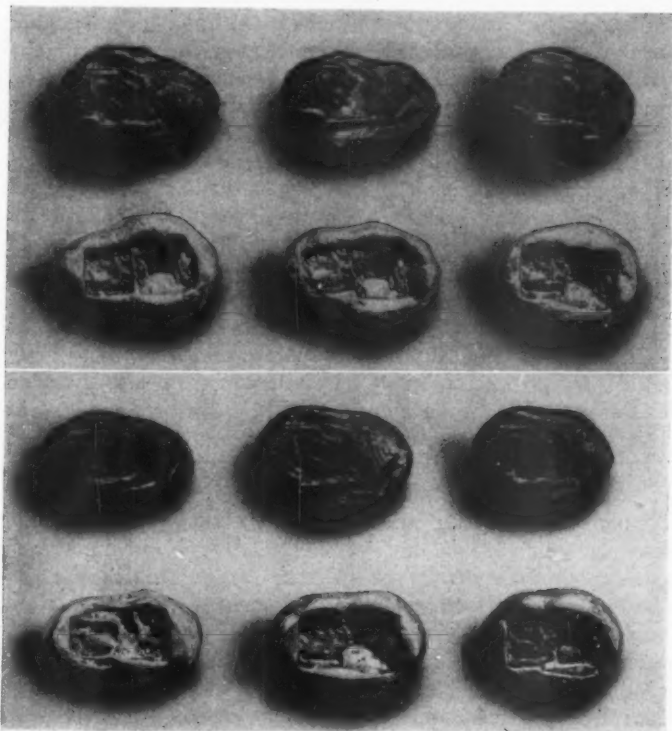


FIGURE 8.—SIX GOLD STATERS OF CROESUS FROM SARDES: OBVERSE AND REVERSE.

hood of the gold. One small vase of characteristic Lydian shape is illustrated in PLATE VI. Several other vases in pieces and many baskets of sherds were uncovered here. Among them were also a few small fragments of human bones. This fact, when taken in connection with the discovery of parts of benches, cut in the clay for holding the dead in the usual Lydian fashion, indicates

that at this place we have to do with a burial chamber, of which the front and the roof have been washed away. Many of the coins are as fresh as if newly minted, but some are rubbed as from handling in circulation. It is quite possible that they were placed in a pot of cheap appearance and hidden in the tomb at the time of the siege and capture of the city by Cyrus in 546 B.C.

Fragments of Lydian pottery were found in all trials made on this hillside. Frequently, however, they were lying near the surface whereas behind them and at a greater depth would be uncovered a Roman tomb. Such a phenomenon obviously indicates that Lydian tombs were cleared of their contents and re-used in later times. A particularly disappointing case of this sort occurred on the same hill, about 100 meters west of where the gold was found. Here at a depth of two meters was lying a nest of Lydian pottery. A large vessel, of a shape between an amphora and a crater, was intact before the process of clearance began, but the black ware had been so cracked and rotted by the burial in the damp clay that it fell apart into many pieces at the slightest movement. Inside this vase were several sherds of pottery and one complete vessel of the cylix type of varnished red ware. On top of the large vase was a smaller vessel of similar shape, made of the same rude burned-black clay, against the side of which were fragments of characteristic Lydian red-brown ware. While clearing the earth about these pots an opening was disclosed leading down about two meters into a large vaulted chamber, which seemed quite of the Lydian type, but upon excavation proved to contain only Roman objects of the second century after Christ, being chiefly rude red plates, and terra-cotta lamps of which sixty complete specimens and many fragments were obtained.

Objects of the Lydian period were also discovered in excavations in the first ravine to the north of the temple, where work was suspended in 1914. As Professor Butler pointed out in his Report for the season of 1914 in this JOURNAL, Vol. XVIII, p. 428, successive layers of stratification are here discernible and the limitations of the Greek and Roman levels are clearly marked. This season at a depth of 1.40 meters below the Graeco-Roman deposit Lydian ware of very early appearance was brought to light, the best preserved piece being a polished gray-black vase of the cylix shape with an incised wave line about the circumference of the bowl. In this ravine it is necessary to move a

large amount of earth and consequently this spring, owing to restricted resources, little could be accomplished in the way of satisfactorily exploring this promising site.

It has always been a question open to discussion whether the Acropolis of Sardes, as it appears today, has any ground surface that antedates the period of the great earthquake, 17 A.D. Some trials made during the present campaign yielded interesting information on this subject, for at the southeastern end, near where the present ascent to the Acropolis leads through a breach in the walls, several large pits that were sunk passed through Byzantine and Roman remains to reach finally abundant deposits of Lydian pottery, in one case at a depth of 3.55 meters below the



FIGURE 9.—CONTENTS OF HELLENISTIC TOMB: DATE, CA. 190 B.C.: SARDES.

present ground surface. This investigation was not pursued further after the achievement of its purpose, which was to determine the desirability of making extensive excavations at this point, in the hope of recovering remains of the earliest settlement which by tradition and practice should have been on the Acropolis. Other Lydian evidences, including some painted architectural tiles, were also found on a lower slope at the northwestern end of the Acropolis, and here too further excavation should be profitable.

Occasional objects of the Greek period, such as lamps and fragments of pottery, appeared sporadically during the season, but one discovery of this age was of more than common importance. This was a Hellenistic tomb of which the contents were intact and apparently *in situ*. It was of the couch tomb variety that is usual at Sardes, consisting of a corridor, flanked on each side by



a bench or couch, cut out of the hard clay, and with a similar couch at the back. In this case the vaulted roof of the chamber had collapsed and the front had been washed away, but as Lydian sherds were found near the surface at the entrance it was clear that the tomb had originally been Lydian and, like so many others, had been used again in Hellenistic times. Two skeletons lay on each side couch, those on the right having their heads

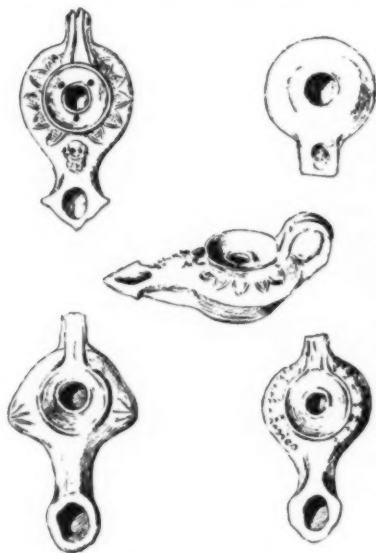


FIGURE 10.—LAMPS FROM HELLENISTIC TOMB: SARDES.

toward the entrance, those on the left with the skulls toward the back of the tomb. No bones were on the rear couch, but there most of the offerings were placed. In all twenty-two objects were recovered from this burial, and all are shown, grouped together, in Fig. 9. A large terra-cotta mask, though irreparably injured by the wet clay, shows unmistakable evidence of its original beauty. A graceful figurine of Persephone type is inscribed with the name of "Nicanor" on its back; another terra-cotta is a delicately-wrought female figure, nude except for a cloak which is thrown about the neck and hangs over the left arm. These figurines resemble, in their several types, the terra-cottas found at Myrina. Among the pieces of pottery from the tomb is a large undecorated pitcher, height 295 millimeters, which was lying in the corridor, and within which was a black lamp, with stamped leaf decoration about the body, and a mask on the front, just behind the triangular nozzle. There were also bowls in thick black clay, and bowls with handles in the thinnest red clay. In addition to the lamp in the big pitcher four other lamps were found, three similar in type to the first, the fourth a short thick lamp of red clay. These lamps, which are particularly good exam-

plars of the Hellenistic style, are shown in Fig. 10. The lamps on the left with the skulls toward the back of the tomb. No bones were on the rear couch, but there most of the offerings were placed. In all twenty-two objects were recovered from this burial, and all are shown, grouped together, in Fig. 9. A large terra-cotta mask, though irreparably injured by the wet clay, shows unmistakable evidence of its original beauty. A graceful figurine of Persephone type is inscribed with the name of "Nicanor" on its back; another terra-cotta is a delicately-wrought female figure, nude except for a cloak which is thrown about the



ples of their kind, are illustrated in Fig. 10 from a pen and ink drawing by Mrs. Shear. It is always interesting to find an inviolate tomb containing numerous complete objects, even if the burial is only of the Hellenistic age, but in this instance added importance is given the discovery through the presence among the finds of a bronze coin that can be quite exactly dated. On the obverse of this coin is represented the head of the youthful Heracles, wearing the lion's skin, surrounded by a dotted circle. On the reverse is an amphora, on the right of which are the letters  $\Sigma\text{AP}\Delta\text{I}$ , and

on the left the letters  $\text{AN}\Omega\text{N}$ , reading in each case from the top downwards. On either side also appears a monogram. This coin is thus similar to No. 260 in Bell's catalogue of the Sardes coins found in the years 1910-1914, and to the British Museum Catalogue, *Lydia*, Sardes, Nos. 45 and 46, Plate XXIV, 13. In both these publications the coin is listed simply as be-

fore 133 B.C. Mr. Edward T. Newell of the American Numismatic Society has called my attention to the similarity of the head on the new coin to that on the silver tetradrachm from Sardes published by Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, Plate G, No. 23. As this tetradrachm can be dated to 189 B.C., or the following year or two, the copper coin can be safely assigned to the same date, that is, immediately after the resumption of autonomous coinage by the cities of Asia, which resulted as a consequence of the Roman victory at the battle of Magnesia in 189 B.C.

Numerous Roman tombs of sarcophagus type were excavated in various parts of the site. In one case the cover and sides of the sarcophagus consisted of huge slabs of terra-cotta, 68 centimeters square and 7 centimeters thick. In this grave, which was



FIGURE 11.—ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS TOMB: FIRST CENTURY, A.D.: SARDES.

on the hillock south of the second ravine to the north of the temple, was found a small skeleton, apparently of a woman. With the bones were a lamp of red clay adorned with three masks, a small glass bottle, a plain bronze mirror, and a copper coin, quite illegible, which was still attached to the teeth of the upper jaw. The lamp is similar to No. 1104 of the British Museum *Catalogue*, which is dated in the second century after Christ.

Another Roman sarcophagus of similar type was uncovered on the western slope of the hill that lies on the northern side of the third ravine north of the temple. A view of this tomb in



FIGURE 12.—CONTENTS OF ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS: SARDES.

process of excavation is shown in Fig. 11, while Fig. 12 reproduces some of the unbroken objects found in it. This sarcophagus was made of terra-cotta slabs which had collapsed from the weight of earth above, crushing most of the things beneath. At the western end of the grave fragments of bone showed that a child was buried, and here were lying the glass beads and amulets forming a necklace, and the miniature oenochoe. Further east and deeper in the hillside were the remains of the bones of an adult with which the other objects were associated. As some of the articles were characteristically feminine and included a terra-cotta statuette of Aphrodite it is clear that this was a double burial of mother and child. The contents of the tomb included a small rude amphora and shallow plate at the west end, in addition to the necklace and small oenochoe shown in the illustration.

By the bones of the adult were the two small ivory boxes and ivory pins that appear in the picture. There were many other ivory pins beside these, but they were mostly broken. These were lying close to the remains of a wooden chest in which they had originally been deposited. Of the chest were left the bronze lock plate and bolts, round handles decorated with heads in relief, protective bronze corners and other accessory parts. Four rude lamps were in the grave in addition to the well-executed specimen with the representation of a griffin leaping to the right. This lamp falls under the classification of the British Museum *Catalogue*: "Lamps with rounded nozzles with volutes." It is evidently similar, with the addition of a handle, to the lamp listed there as No. 748, and would, therefore, be dated in the first century after Christ.

Artistically the most interesting of the discoveries dating from the Roman age is a large vaulted chamber tomb that was uncovered on the southern slope of the hillock, on the northern side of the first wady to the north of the temple, and close to the dwelling house of the Expedition. Entrance to this tomb was through a rectangular opening in the roof at the eastern end, which, when discovered, was closed by a single marble slab. Through this hole one descended by three corbel steps to the floor. The chamber was 2.68 meters long and 2.43 wide. The walls were covered with a thick plaster on which frescoes were painted in brilliant colors. On each side wall is a stately peacock, with a greenish-blue body, red wing, red legs and long sweeping tail, in which the "eyes" are distinctly marked. The peacock on the south wall is facing to the east, but on the north wall he faces west, with his head turned backward. In the background is a smaller bird of the same kind, perhaps made small for reasons of perspective. The wall is covered with scattered flowers, like the tulip, and with conventional garlands, painted red, in the midst of which are two baskets containing fruit. Fig. 13 gives a view of the south wall made from a water-color by Mrs. Shear. On the rear, *i.e.* west wall, is painted a bird sitting on a vine, with bunches of grapes hanging from it, while the entrance wall with the steps is decorated with garlands and fruit baskets. This tomb is somewhat similar in its decoration to one excavated in the plain to the north of Sardes during the season of 1913, mentioned in Professor Butler's Report, *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF*

ARCHAEOLOGY, XVII, 1913, p. 478, and published by Professor Morey as an appendix to *Sardis*, Vol. I, *The Excavations*, pp. 181-183. The painting on the present tomb, however, is executed with greater freedom and freshness, giving the impression of belonging to an earlier period than does the tomb previously discovered. This impression is confirmed by the absence of the fourth century Constantinian monogram, which occurs in the other example, and by evidence afforded by the lamps found in the tomb. The chamber, when opened, was rather more than



FIGURE 13.—FRESCO FROM ROMAN TOMB: SARDES: LENGTH, 2.68 M.

half full of earth, all of which was sifted through a sieve. The results were meager, consisting of numerous sherds, some even of the Lydian period which must have been accidentally washed in, small bones of birds and rodents, fragments of clay lamps, and the eleven complete lamps illustrated in Fig. 14. It should be noted that one of these is decorated in the bowl with a peacock, which has its tail spread and is standing on a column. This lamp is somewhat similar to No. 1331 in the British Museum *Catalogue* which is included among the "late or quasi-Christian types." Like No. 1339 of the *Catalogue* and numerous other examples found at Sardis this year and previously it has a stamp in the form of a foot underneath the body. The other lamps,

although not so characteristically marked, would fit agreeably to a dating in the third post-Christian century and thus indicate within reasonable limits the age of the tomb.

In addition to the Roman tombs a large building of the Roman period was partially excavated. This building lay on the southern side of the second wady north of the temple. Fig. 15 shows a view of it taken from the north. A broad entrance passage, flanked by two Ionic columns, leads through an arched portal. On either side of the passage are spacious rooms or areas, and the

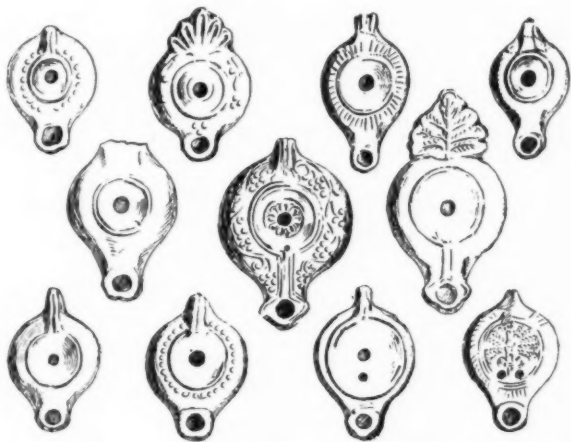


FIGURE 14.—LAMPS FROM ROMAN TOMB WITH PEACOCK FRESCOES: SARDES.

presence of a large oval lime-kiln in the area on the right sufficiently accounts for the scantiness of remains about the building. Foundations and walls are substantially built, and in some cases are partially covered by cross-walls and other constructions of the Byzantine period, when the building was re-used. Little more than the façade of this building was excavated as the walls led into a hillside where the deposit of earth was so deep that the work could not be continued with the limited resources available during the present season.

In the search for traces of the agora, mentioned by Herodotus in his account of the burning of the city by the Ionians, excavation was conducted along the eastern bank of the Pactolus, north of the outlet of the second wady north of the temple. An

elaborate drainage system was here uncovered, with large terracotta pipes leading to the river from many directions. As many as four parallel lines of these pipes, laid almost contiguously, came down from the southeast. Many scattered Greek and Roman remains of minor interest were brought to light, including a vaulted chamber tomb of the Roman period, similar to the tomb with the peacock frescoes, but in this case undecorated.



FIGURE 15.—FACADE OF ROMAN BUILDING: SARDES.

The great amount of earth that required removal limited the extension of work also in this vicinity.

For the sake of the completeness of this report mention must be made of an investigation made by Professor Butler of a site near the Gygaean lake, where it was hoped that evidence might be secured for the identification of the sanctuary of Artemis Coloene. Some foundations were uncovered, and two late inscriptions were found but nothing came to light that could be certainly connected with Coloe.

Apart from the two inscriptions, to which reference has just been made, only seven were found in the course of the season's work, and most of these are quite fragmentary. One fragment, however, found near the Roman building in the second ravine, has on it the name "Sardes." Another late Greek inscription,

which is completely preserved, is inscribed with well-cut letters and is of considerable interest, as it refers to the construction of buildings of single and double-story for a specific phyle. These inscriptions, like those found in previous years, will be subsequently published by W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson.

THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY,  
October, 1922.

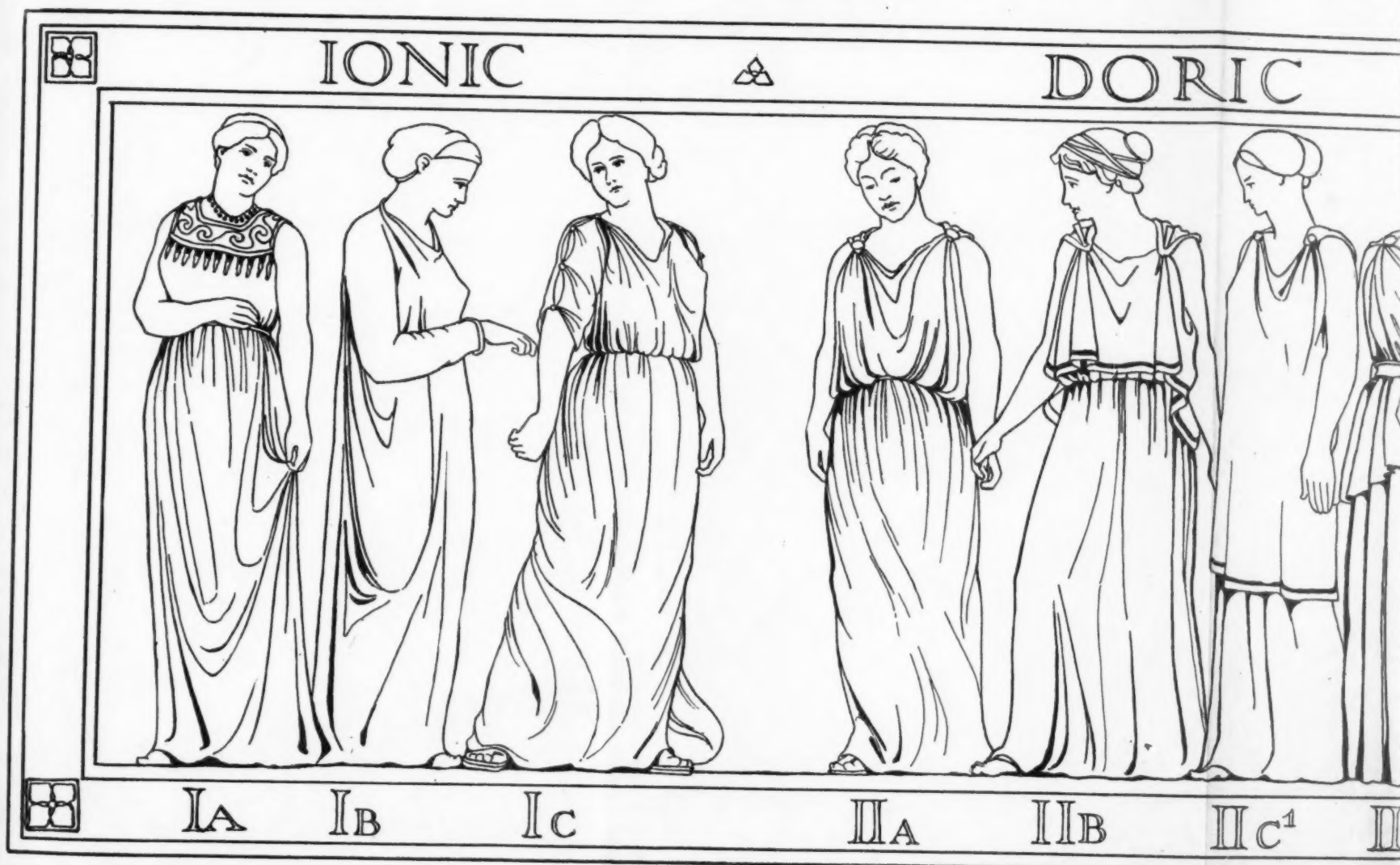
DOMESTIC COSTUMES OF THE ATHENIAN WOMAN  
IN THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES B.C.

[PLATE VII]

IT is a noteworthy fact that the simple Doric chiton with overfold, which is so common in the feminine dress of Greek temple-sculptures of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., is hardly to be found represented on the grave-reliefs of the same period. On the other hand, on the grave-reliefs, more than half of the costumes worn by women are composed of two chitons, or perhaps rather of chitonion and chiton, with or without an added himation, while such combinations are rare in the temple-sculpture. The matter is further complicated by the fact that while the Ionic chiton is common in temple-sculpture and on the grave-reliefs, it is rarer than the Doric in the former and rarer than the composite in the latter. Yet on the vases it outnumbers all the rest. In a word, the simple Doric chitons are predominant in temple-sculpture, the Ionic in vase-paintings and the composite costumes in the grave-reliefs.

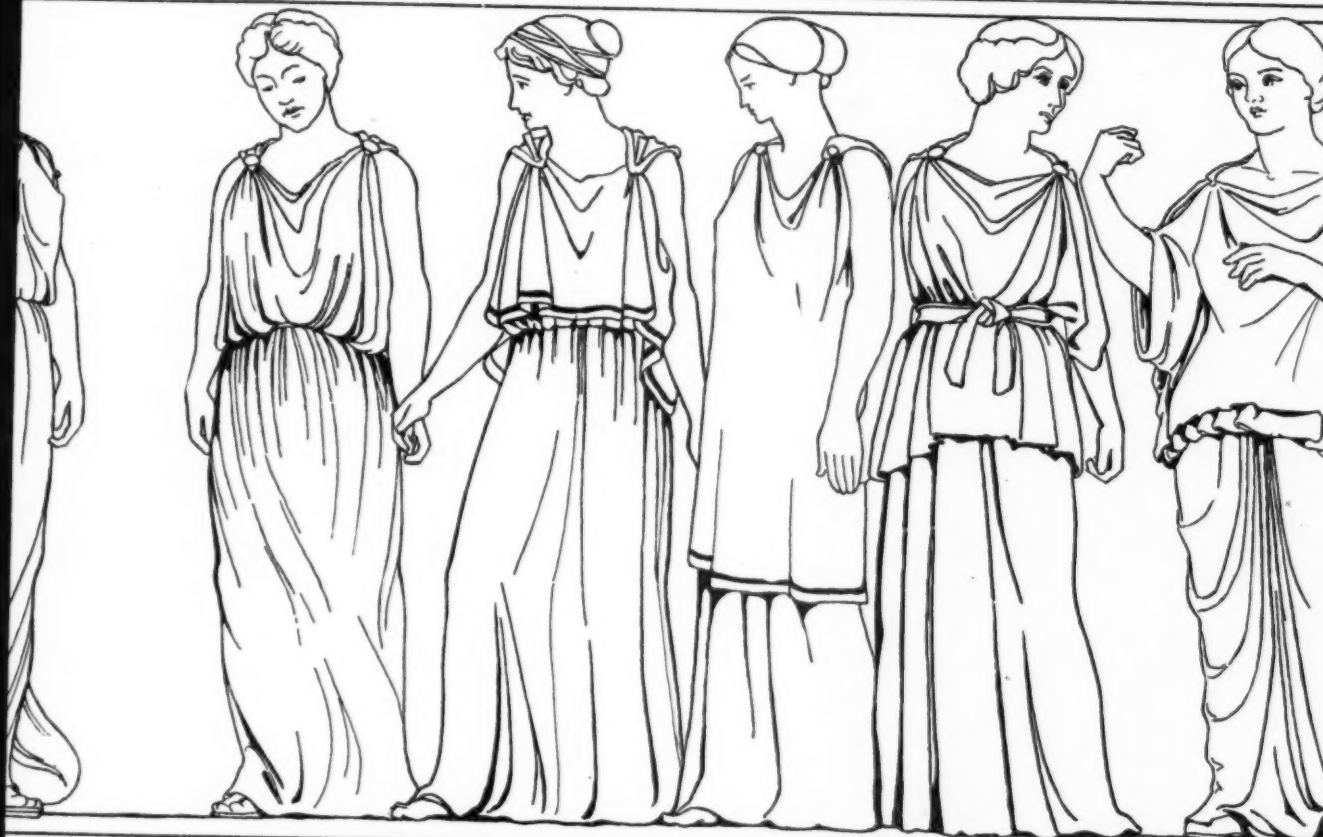
Such discrepancies cannot be without significance, and one obvious suggestion would be to attribute them to stylistic and technical requirements. The simple Doric chiton in particular has a largeness of scale and a simplicity of form comparable to the scale and forms of the architectural members with which it was to be associated. This alone might make it a favorite with the sculptors. In contrast, the more complex costumes of the grave-reliefs are quite in keeping with the genre spirit and smaller scale of their setting. With equal force it might be urged that the strict limitations of style in the red-figured vases have developed a system of representation and a series of line-patterns for which the Ionic chitons with their clinging forms and their many small folds give purpose. It must always be remembered that the Greek rarely fell to the level of mere representation; his art was always design and even pattern-making in his most literal moments. This affects the value of all the evidence as literal







# DORIC



II<sub>A</sub>

II<sub>B</sub>

II<sub>C</sub><sup>1</sup>

II<sub>C</sub><sup>2</sup>

II<sub>D</sub>

# IONIC-DORIC



D

III<sub>E</sub>

III<sub>F</sub>

III<sub>A</sub><sup>1</sup>

III<sub>A</sub><sup>2</sup>

TYPES OF GREEK DRESS

NIC-DORIC



CO



III E

III F

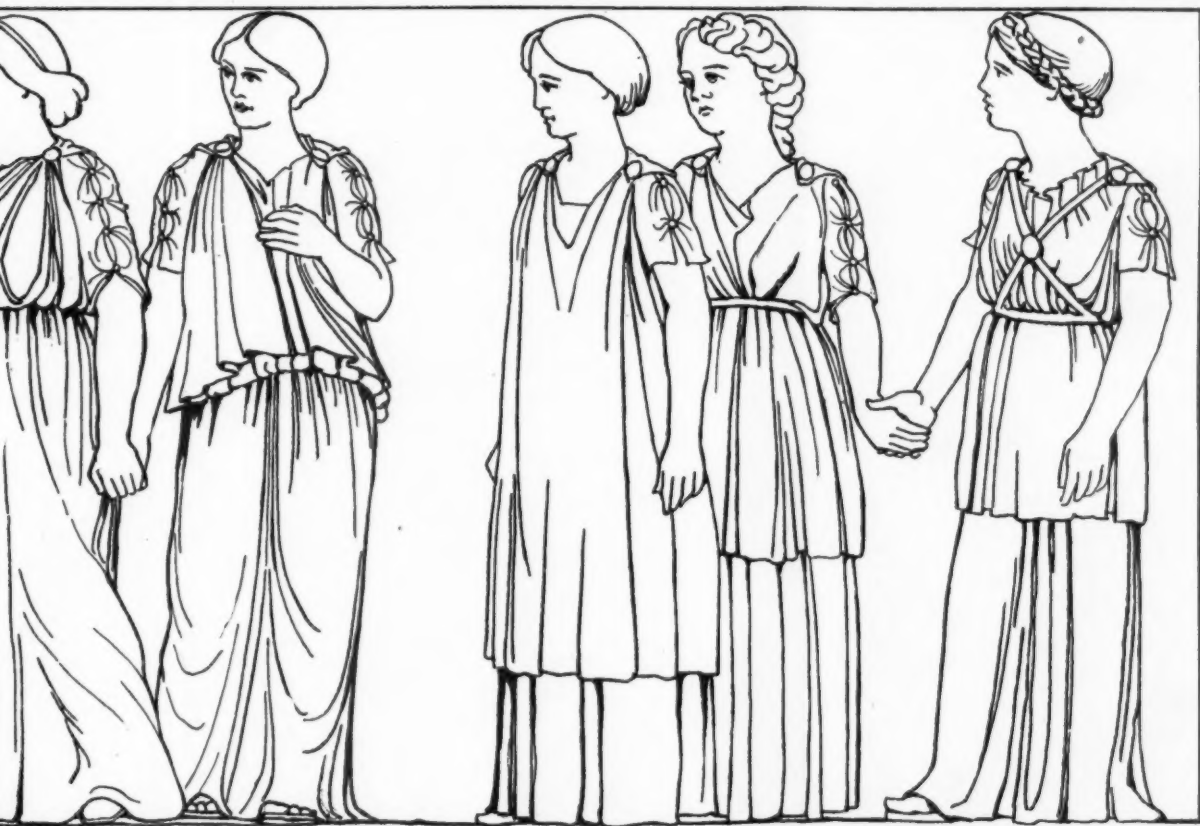
III A<sup>1</sup>

III A<sup>2</sup>

III B

TYPES OF GREEK DRESS

# COMPOSITE



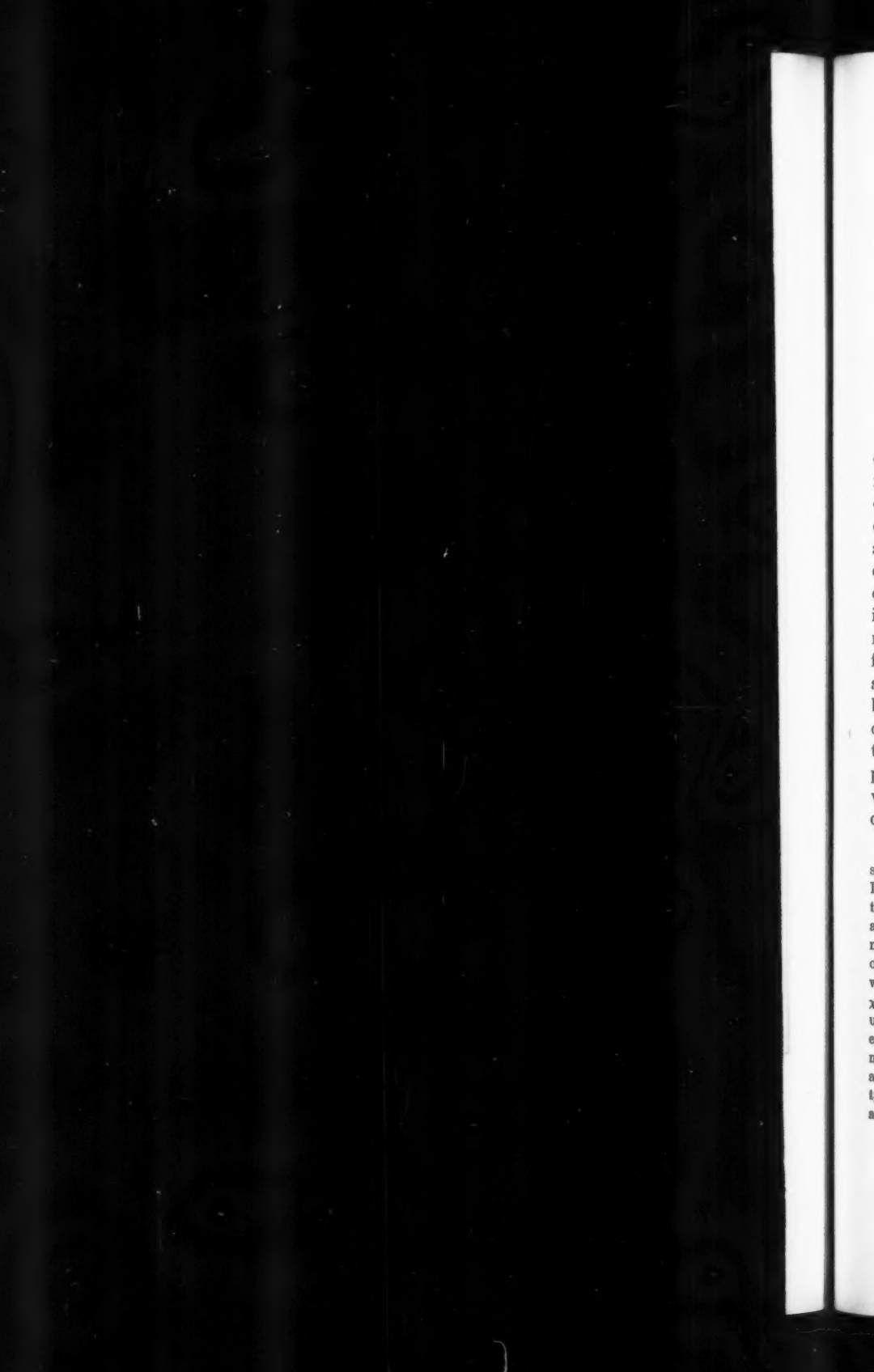
B

C

D<sup>1</sup>

D<sup>2</sup>

D<sup>3</sup>





statement, but especially is this transformation of fact into design-motives apparent in the vase-paintings. The sculptured costumes are rarely difficult to decipher; those of the vase-paintings are often baffling. In addition their style is often so terse or sketchy that its incompleteness makes it hard to read.

Another explanation would be that the prohibition of the Doric chiton, mentioned by Herodotus, remained effective, so that the Doric chiton became the mark of the goddesses and of the heroines of a bygone time. When worn alone it has indeed this connotation and gives the flavor of antique tradition, but this explanation does not account for the fact that the Doric chiton in one of its most characteristic forms, the peplos of Athena, is the most conspicuous component in a costume that frequently occurs on the grave-reliefs. Further, it would not explain the composite dresses at all. These composite dresses have, so far as I know, received scant attention.<sup>1</sup> Yet if it can be shown that dress lost its primitive simplicity *pari passu* with the development of the other arts and the sciences, we have under observation an interesting and wholly comprehensible social phenomenon. It might, perhaps, be suggested that the Doric chiton went out of fashion for some reason and that the story related by Herodotus arose in explanation of the change of style. Later, when it came back into favor again, the ideals of dress had changed so that it came back as an over-garment. In the meantime, both as a traditional costume and for its sculptural character it kept its predominant place with the sculptors, as the Ionic did with the vase-painters. From every point of view, however, the evidence of the vases requires careful scrutiny. The evidence of the

<sup>1</sup> Guhl and Koner, *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer*, 5th, ed. 1882, p. 205, state that a second garment like a shirt seems not to have been usual. Becker, *Charicles*, 1st ed. p. 330, in the still valuable excursus on costume, while stating that he knew no monument showing one chiton over another, holds that the chitonia, known from literary sources, can be nothing else than under-garments, and that their use by the women of Athens must have been pretty general. Becker's acuteness is noteworthy, as usual. Amelung (in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real. Encycl.* p. 2316, s.v. *χίτων*) says that there are not a few examples of the peplos worn over an under-garment, and in the same article on p. 2322 he mentions the frequent examples of a short Ionic chiton worn over a long one. Conze, in the text-notes in his great work on the grave-reliefs mentions the composite dresses as a matter of fact and without comment; the notes on Nos. 805, 815 and 832 are typical. But neither here nor elsewhere, so far as I know has their frequency and their significance been adequately stated.

temple-sculpture is serious and fairly homogeneous, that of the grave-reliefs is wholly so, and the meaning of these two groups is comparatively obvious. But the vases represent everything, from the highest images of myth and religion, through scenes of simple and decent private life to pictures of unbridled license and buffoonery, while their style shows an equal range, so that it is necessary to guard against taking burlesque or exaggerated fancy for fact.

In order to discuss the relative frequency of the different types of chiton in the three groups of source-material that I have mentioned, I have elsewhere <sup>1</sup> proposed a classification of the chitons worn by Greek women in the fifth and fourth centuries. This is based on independent examination of the available sources. With it are given percentage tables derived from certain large and representative groups of each kind of source material. The proposed classification is illustrated in PLATE VII, and a table showing the frequency of occurrence of each type in each source is here reproduced.

#### AN ARTIFICIAL KEY TO THE TYPES OF GREEK COSTUME

(In this key no account is taken of the himation)

	Percentage of occurrence			
	Sculp- ture	Vases, Boston	Vases, N. Y.	Grave- reliefs
I. Ionic chiton alone present.				
a. No sleeves,	4.3	8.0	10.0	0.0
b. True sleeves,	3.1	0.0	0.6	8.0
c. Pseudo-sleeves,	22.1	65.6	65.4	26.1
II. Doric chiton alone present.				
a. <i>True Doric chitons with one         clasp on each shoulder.</i>				
a. Overfold wanting,	13.5	2.6	0.6	1.1
b. Overfold short,	27.6	6.7	8.0	3.4
c. Overfold relatively long.				
1. Not overgirt,	4.9	1.8	3.1	1.1
2. Overgirt,	13.5	10.4	7.4	1.1
β. <i>Doric chitons with two or         more clasps on each side;         the clasps sometimes re-         placed by a seam; over-         fold present.</i>				
d. Overfold to end of pseudo-sleeves,	0.6	1.8	1.8	2.3

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Delaware County Institute of Science*, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 105 ff



	Sculp- ture	Vases, Boston	Vases, N. Y.	Grave- reliefs
e. Overfold not extended to sleeves,	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0
<i>γ. Doric chitons with short         seam at shoulder; overfold         present.</i>				
f. Overfold notably short,	0.6	0.0	1.2	0.0
III. Ionic chiton or chitonion with over-dress.				
a. Over-dress Ionic chiton without sleeves.				
1. Over-dress to knees,	1.2	2.6	1.2	2.3
2. Over-dress to feet,	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
b. Over-dress Doric chiton without overfold,	3.1	0.0	0.0	39.8
c. Over-dress Doric chiton with short overfold,	2.5	0.6	0.0	2.3
d. Over-dress Doric chiton with long overfold.				
1. Girdle wanting,	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
2. Girdle simple,	1.8	0.0	0.0	6.8
3. Cross-girdle,	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.7
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.1	<hr/> 99.9	<hr/> 100.0

Because an exhaustive examination of all existing monuments was impracticable, collections sufficiently large and generally available have been employed in the determination of these figures. For the grave-reliefs, Conze's work has formed the basis and every costume of the period published in that work which can be made out has been recorded. The only further editing has been to distinguish and to draw the line between the woman and the child in regard to a few figures. This would affect type IIIId only. The vase lists have been derived from the collections of red-figured vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts respectively. The similarity of the results affords some measure of the general reliability of the method.

The sculpture-list is derived from the Brunn-Bruckmann collection of photographs and includes all the costumes shown on Greek sculpture later than the Persian wars and not of the latest period under strongly Roman influence. To avoid criticism for too much editing of my source-material, I have included even the grave-reliefs published in that collection. To have excluded them would have made the contrast between the

lists somewhat greater, but it is sufficiently great as it is, and I have the security of using a collection not of my own making.<sup>1</sup>

It will be noticed that one type (IIIa<sup>2</sup>) does not appear on any one of the four lists; a wide range of published material was examined in the search for types and this type has been described from other material. This warns me that still other types may have escaped my attention, but examples of such must be too rare to affect seriously the reliability of the table. The scheme of classification will admit of any needed extension, but for the sake of clearness I have avoided unnecessary expansion, even where, within the limits of certain types as defined, there are minor differences that invite further subdivision into varieties. Examples of this may be found under types Ia, IIe and IIIb.

The commoner forms of the chiton are generally known and may be passed over with mere mention; a few call for special description. The distinction between the two great families of chitons has historic sanction and separates the Ionic chitons, in every sense true dresses, enclosing the body, originally of thin linen or, perhaps, cotton material, from the Doric chitons, modified cloaks of wool fastened with a large brooch or pin at each shoulder. The Doric chiton never lost the essential character of a blanket folded to make two panels, front and back. In the course of time, certain hybrids resulted from the use of a variety of materials and from some modifications of form. In dealing with these I have felt that they should be classified by structure or by their relation to other forms, and I have described them as Doric if they showed the two-panel effect, the two brooches, or the essentially Doric overfold, even if they were of thin material or showed other results of Ionic influence.

Class I of the table includes the true Ionic chitons when worn alone, Ia being the sleeveless variety as shown in *Jb. Arch. I. I*, taf. 11, 2, or that form practically without sleeves, as in Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, taf. 87, 2. These chitons are often richly ornamented. Of knee-length or less, also ornate and with a fringe, it is to be seen on a phiale (No. 97.371) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. A distinct variety, of thin plain material, exists.

Type Ib. The Ionic chiton with true sleeves; probably a barbarian costume originally. It is the dress of Medea in

<sup>1</sup> The full details, showing the classification of each monument, are published in my article mentioned above.

Furtwängler and Reichhold, *op. cit.* taf. 9 and 38-39. On the grave-reliefs it is regularly a costume of servants, but occurs also on a Niobid, or at least on a figure so identified.<sup>1</sup> Type Ic is the Ionic chiton with pseudo-sleeves. This is a most interesting garment, and one very common in all classes of representation. It is rectangular in form and is wide enough so that the upper edge affords length for the neck opening and the length of the "sleeve" on either side (Fig. 1). When worn a sort of sleeve is often defined by girdling it with a cord which I take to be the ἀναμασχαλιστήρ. This cord passes forward and downward from the top of the shoulder, then back under the arm-pit, diagonally across the back to the other shoulder, then forward and under that arm-pit and again diagonally across the back to the starting-point. This cord can be studied in many monuments, but nowhere better than on the Charioteer of Delphi. It is sometimes a heavy cord,<sup>2</sup> but is in other cases an exceedingly slender thread. A beautiful example of this may be seen on the central figure in the group of the so-called Fates



FIGURE 1.—IONIC CHITON WITH PSEUDO-SLEEVES.

from the East Pediment of the Parthenon. A cord so slender was of course often lost to sight in the folds that it produced. On the vases it appears rather frequently as a dark tape.<sup>3</sup> This cord was worn with other types of chiton, though less frequently.<sup>4</sup> The outer seam of the "sleeve" of this type of chiton is either sewn or is more characteristically formed by looping the edges

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Amelung in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real. Encycl.* p. 2210.

<sup>2</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 577.

<sup>3</sup> Furtwängler and Reichhold, *op. cit.* taf. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Furtwängler, *Sabouroff Collection*, pls. XV, XVI, XVII.

together with a series of small brooches, as shown in Fig. 1. Further details will be found in my article previously mentioned.

Class II. The most characteristic form of the Doric chiton, that with the overfold falling to the waist, has been described so often that it will be sufficient to dismiss it with mere men-



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FIGURE 2.—AMPHORA IN MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: BOSTON.

tion. That it is a derivative from a folded cloak is evident *e.g.* from the illustration (Fig. 2) from an amphora in Boston,<sup>1</sup> where nothing is wanting but a second brooch, on the left shoulder, to make the cloak a regular Doric chiton with overfold. This form of chiton serves as the starting-point in the evolution of the Doric chitons, though it is classified as type IIb. By omitting the

<sup>1</sup> Museum Fine Arts, No. 00.347.

overfold an equally "Doric" chiton results; it is still a modified cloak and it is still held in place by two large brooches (IIa). Another variant of the simple Doric chiton is formed by making the overfold long, so that it falls free to the hips or even to the knees or below (IIc<sup>1</sup>). Overgirt at the waist with a simple girdle this becomes the so-called "peplos of Athena," and in the religious iconography generally distinguishes the maiden goddess (Type IIc<sup>2</sup>).<sup>1</sup>

We now come to a group of Doric chitons which show a close kinship among themselves and an interesting development under Ionic influence. One of the later and more ample forms of the Doric chiton with short overfold is so wide that the arm-loops hang to the hips. This form may be seen on the Eirene of Cephisodotus. The excess of material here was probably a bit of ostentation in fashion; in practice it is highly inconvenient to the wearer and it was an easy remedy to make additional fastenings between the front panel and the back, producing pseudo-sleeves and reducing the arm-loops to moderate size (Fig. 3),<sup>2</sup> or even to run a seam from the neck-opening outward as in the Athena Giustiniani. Here we get a pseudo-sleeve, just as in type Ic (Ionic), but everything is still Doric, the overfold giving the predominating character to the garment (Type IId). The sleeves of this chiton are inconveniently heavy and it was an obvious remedy to remove the overfold so far as it depended from the sleeves, leaving it in the middle, from shoulder



FIGURE 3.—STELE OF MELITE.

<sup>1</sup> An interesting discussion of this group of chitons is to be found in an article by Léon Heuzey, *Mon. Piot*, XXIV, pp. 5-46.

<sup>2</sup> Conze, *Grabreliefs*, No. 803; also, I believe, No. 321 in spite of his note.

to shoulder only (Type IIe). This chiton is far less Doric in appearance than the preceding, but it is plainly a derivative. The left-hand figure of the three "Fates" of the East Pediment of the Parthenon, the one sitting apart, wears this chiton,<sup>1</sup> and it is several times found as the costume of Maenads, etc., on vases.<sup>2</sup>

A still less Doric chiton of this series remains to be mentioned. It may be described either as a sleeveless Ionic chiton with a short

Doric overfold, or equally well as a Doric chiton of normal type, made of gauzy material, with an abbreviated overfold and with the two brooches replaced by short seams at the shoulders. It is, however, so distinct in appearance as to deserve to be recorded as a special type (II<sub>f</sub>) and its place is determined by its similarity to the Maenad costumes just mentioned.

Class III. We now come to the cases where two chitons are worn, either with or without an added himation. The under chiton is apparently always of the Ionic type, either with true sleeves or with pseudo-sleeves. It is likely that sleeveless chitons also were worn as undergarments, but as they would not



FIGURE 4.—ATTIC GRAVE-RELIEF.

show the question remains unsettled. Becker<sup>3</sup> publishes a toilet-scene, taken from Tischbein, *Engravings*, I, pl. 59, in which a woman is seen wearing a short sleeveless garment which looks like

<sup>1</sup> It is possible enough that in practice this chiton was sometimes made by adding "sleeves" to a chiton of type IIb (see Abrahams, *Greek Dress*, p. 64 ff.), or by adding an overfold of the requisite size to an Ionic chiton of type Ic with a seam along the arm instead of loops; of the two, the latter is perhaps the more likely.

<sup>2</sup> Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, p. 432, Abb. 479; Buschor, *Griech. Vasenm.* p. 177, Abb. 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Charicles*, Excursus I to Scene XI.

something of the sort, but the drawing is inadequate and I have not seen the original.

Since the under-chitons are all Ionic, the composite costumes have been classified according to the character of the outer chitons as already described.

Type IIIa consists of the long-sleeved Ionic chiton usually worn by servants, over which is shown another chiton, also Ionic, without sleeves. This latter is sometimes long enough to reach to the feet, so that only the sleeves of the under-garment show. Sometimes it falls but to the knees and so looks like a kind of apron or smock. These two costumes belong to servants. The first is beautifully shown on the servant adjusting the headdress of her mistress in the vase-painting in Furtwängler and Reichhold, *op. cit.* taf. 68. The outer chiton is richly decorated and the right sleeve of the under-chiton is distinctly shown coming through the arm-size of the outer chiton. The material of the outer chiton has an all-over pattern of embroidered crosses; the sleeve has no such pattern. The costume



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FIGURE 5.—CYBELE: MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: BOSTON.



with the outer chiton to the knees may be studied as it appears on the servant behind the chair in the grave-relief of Damasistrate.

Type IIIb. The grave-reliefs show numerous matronly figures wearing a costume which by its regular association with the other attributes of the mature woman of the upper classes and by its uniformity stands as a clearly marked costume of definite significance (Fig. 4). It consists of an Ionic under-chiton with pseudo-



FIGURE 6.—STANDING  
FIGURE: NATIONAL  
MUSEUM: ATHENS.

sleeves, usually of the button and loop sort (Type Ic), over which is worn a Doric chiton marked by the round brooches of the customary kind. This Doric chiton appears to have no overfold. It is true that the himation, which is regularly a part of this costume, frequently covers the figure from the waist to the hips where the lower edge of the overfold would come if one were present, but the testimony against its existence is of various kinds and is in the sum conclusive. In the first place, the folds of material over the bosom are like those over the knees and lower legs and do not indicate an additional thickness of material, nor do we find any evidence of doubled edges at the sides below the shoulders in the examples that have been assigned to this type. Next, we have cases where the himation has fallen across the lap, showing the chiton to the hip or below, proving that here it has no overfold unless it is so long that the edge of the overfold falls below that point (Fig. 5).<sup>1</sup> Another example is found where the himation is so

worn as to show the chiton from above the hip down to the feet, and still no overfold appears (Fig. 6).<sup>2</sup> Further we have seen that Doric chitons were worn alone without overfold (Type IIa) and servants are shown wearing them over the true-sleeved Ionic chiton.<sup>3</sup> Here, of course, there is no himation to obscure the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Conze, *op. cit.* Nos. 71 and 581 and the Cybele in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts here illustrated.

<sup>2</sup> Collignon, *Les Statuaires Funéraires dans l'Art Grec*, p. 159, fig. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Conze, *op. cit.* No. 289; see his text-note and sketch; also No. 462.



facts. Finally there is a figure from Priene in the British Museum which appears to wear the costume in question without an himation (Fig. 7).<sup>1</sup>

Type IIIc. Similar to the above except that the outer (Doric) chiton has a short overfold. This is not common (Fig. 8).

Type IIId. As above except that the outer chiton has the long overfold. The subdivisions of this type are based on differences of girdling; in the first variety the peplos is ungirt, in the second there is a simple girdle at the waist; in the third there is the girdle at the waist and a cross-girdling diagonally from waist to shoulder. A brooch or amulet generally appears at the crossing on the bosom. These are the costumes of girls and young maidens and would have contributed in larger measure to the table of percentages had not that

<sup>1</sup> My special thanks are due A. H. Smith, Esq., of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum for his kindness in verifying for me certain details of the costume of this figure.



(From photograph by W. A. Mansell and Co.)

FIGURE 7.—STANDING FIGURE FROM PRIENE:  
LONDON.

table been based on representations of those who had crossed the threshold from childhood into womanhood. They are regularly worn without a cloak, the doubled outer chiton affording all necessary protection. It may be questioned whether this garment, so closely akin to the peplos of the maiden goddess Athena was worn by the young maidens of Athens on that account, or whether it logically belonged to both as to free and



(From photograph by W. A. Mansell and Co.)

FIGURE 8.—FIGURE ON COLUMN BASE OF TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEBUS: LONDON.



FIGURE 9.—GRAVE-RELIEF OF A YOUNG GIRL.

active youth which would naturally be intolerant of the restraints imposed by a cloak (Fig. 9).

If the grave-reliefs can be accepted as homogeneous evidence, both as to period and locality, and this they certainly are in higher degree than any other material before us, and if we regard the serious and literal character of their workmanship, we cannot doubt that they give us a true and definite picture of the domestic costumes of the fifth and fourth centuries in and around Athens. If they depart from fact, it is no doubt in emphasizing the formal costume at the expense of the informal, and that they do this is likely enough.

Leaving out of consideration for this occasion type Ib, which is, in the reliefs, wholly a costume of servants, and the types under IIId, which are primarily children's costumes, but two costumes show an appearance-percentage of over 4 per cent. These are type Ic with 26.1 per cent and type IIb (which is the same type Ic with type IIa worn over it) showing 39.8 per cent. Perhaps the wearing of the outer chiton completes the formal dress, the Ionic chiton alone being the regular informal dress, over which for more formal or public occasions the outer chiton would be drawn. It may be fortuitous, but it is at least interesting, that on the vases where domestic scenes are generally of the less formal sort the composite dresses are practically non-present, but that the percentage of type Ic (65.6 and 65.4 in the two lists respectively) is as near as may be to the total for types Ic and IIb taken together on the reliefs (65.9).

A list of easily available examples of each type of costume is subjoined.

## LIST OF EXAMPLES

- Ia. *Jb. Arch. I. XIX*, 1904, taf. I, No. 4. Richly ornamented.  
*R. Arch.* 1845, taf. XL=Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, p. 253, fig. 226.  
 Furtw. u. Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenm.* taf. 87.2=Buschor, *Gr. Vas. Abb.* 161.  
*Jb. Arch. I. I.* 1886, p. 232, taf. 11.  
 "The Maiden of Antium," Bulle, *Schöne Mensch*, taf. 136=Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 583.  
 Red-figured phiale in Boston Mus. No. 97.371. Knee-length.  
*Jb. Arch. I. XI*, 1896, taf. 2. Rich bodice, thin skirt.  
 Furtw. u. Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenm.*, taf. 30, taf. 50. Simple, of thin goods.  
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, 311. (Niobe.)  
 " " " 439.
- Ib. Furtwängler, *Sabouloff Collection*, taf. XV, XVI, XVII. Figures from Attic tomb; in the round.  
 Conze, *Grabreliefs*, Nos. 68, 71, 294, 880, 881, 882, 901.  
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 312.  
 " " " No. 598.  
 Red-figured vase, N. Y. Metro. Mus. of Art, No. 06.1021.181.  
 Furtw. u. Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenm.* taf. 9 and 38-39. (Medea.)
- Ic. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, v. 5, p. 537, fig. 7164=  
*Jb. Arch. I. XI*, 1896, p. 21, Abb. 2=Étite Céramographique, 2, 49.  
 Shows girl putting on chiton of this type. (Here as Fig. 2.)  
 Cartault, *Terres Cuites Grecques*, pl. II, Jeune Femme se regardant dans un miroir; the ἀναμασχάλιστῆρ is clearly shown.

- Furtwängler, *Sabouloff Collection*, pl. XXXV. Jeune Fille au Canard.  
*J.H.S.* XXXII, 1912, pl. 7 and 8. } In all of these there  
 " XXXIII, 1913, pl. 10 and 11. } is no evidence of the  
 " XXXIV, 1914, pl. 14. } ἀναμασχαλιστήρ; hence  
*Jb. Arch. I.* XXIX, 1914, p. 144, Abb. 18, "sleeves" are defined  
 Red-figured vase, N. Y. Metro. Mus. G. R. only by the girdle or  
 609. } by the himation.  
 Furtw. u. Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenm.* taf. 33. Arm-sizes in upper line of  
 the chiton. (Twice.)  
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 14. Aphrodite of Epidauros.  
 " " " " 35. Sandal Victory.  
 " " " " 175. Penelope of the Vatican, 11  
 brooches on left arm.  
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 189. "Fates," E. Pediment of  
 Parthenon. The figure reclining has no ἀναμασχαλιστήρ. The figure  
 against whom she leans wears a similar chiton with the cord, which  
 is here exceedingly slender.  
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 212. Nereid from Tomb at  
 Xanthos; eight brooches on a short sleeve.  
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 577. 'Αναμασχαλιστήρ is here a  
 heavy cord.  
 IIa. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, Nos. 252 (Maenad), 260, 299, 359, 360,  
 473, 474 (Maiden of the Palatine = Bulle, *Schöne Mensch*, taf. 125),  
 664-5.  
 Conze, *Grabreliefs*, No. 320.  
 Bulle, *Schöne Mensch*, taf. 124 (Venus Genetrix); 125 (see above), 128,  
 135.  
 IIb. The Caryatids of the Erechtheum, the Eirene of Cephisodotus; the  
 type is too common to require examples except to illustrate special  
 facts.  
 Furtw. u. Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenm.* taf. 66b and 79 (the figure  
 holding the fan) show the type with the open side.  
 Conze, *Grabreliefs*, No. 280. Here worn by a servant. This chiton is  
 rare on the grave-reliefs.  
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 58 = Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p.  
 343, Abb. 361. Front panel of chiton is here carried up over back  
 panel, contrary to usual rule.  
 IIc. Rayet et Collignon, *Histoire de la Céramique Grecque*, p. 255, fig. 96.  
*Encyclop. Britannica*, 9th ed. XIX, pl. V; red-figured amphora from  
 Rhodes. The figure at the extreme left.  
*Jb. Arch. I.* XXVIII, 1913, p. 322 = Collignon, *Les Statuaires Funé-  
 raires dans l'Art Grec*, p. 132, fig. 71. Stela of Polyxena; here the  
 overfold has the appearance of being cut to a point in front; in reality  
 the width to the right of the neck opening is sufficient to force, by its  
 weight, the right lower angle of the overfold to a nearly central posi-  
 tion. (See Heuzey, *Mon. Piot.* XXIV, p. 28.)  
*Jb. Arch. I.* XXIX, 1914, p. 30 of *Arch. Anzeiger*. Dresden Artemis.  
*Jb. Arch. I.* XXVI, 1911, p. 55. Artemis Colonna.  
 Furtw. u. Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenm.* taf. 40.

- IIc<sup>2</sup>. Athena of Myron, the Mourning Athena, the Lemnia, etc.
- IIId. Conze, *Grabreliefs*, Nos. 321, 803.  
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 200. (Athena Giustiniani.)  
 N. Y. Metro. Mus. G. R. 577. (Cylix.)  
 J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to Gr. Religion*, fig. 76 after Milliet et Giraudon, pl. 104.  
*Jb. Arch. I.* IX, 1896, p. 188, Abb. 30 D.  
 Klein, *Vasen Liebl. Inscr.* p. 94, Abb. 24.  
 Savignoni, *La Collezione di Vasi Dipinti nel Museo Giulia*, fig. 8.
- IIe. Buschor, *Griech. Vasenm.* Abb. 127.  
 Abrahams, *Greek Dress*, fig. 29.  
 Conze, *Grabreliefs*, No. 471a, probably; cf. the "Fate" from the East Pediment of the Parthenon, the one sitting apart and erect, this latter being a notable example of this chiton in monumental sculpture. A red-figured cylix in the N. Y. Metropolitan Museum (No. 12.231) seems to represent a similar chiton.
- IIIf. Furtw. u. Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenm.* taf. 8. (Three examples.)  
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 19. Nereid from Epidaureus.
- IIIa<sup>1</sup>. *Jb. Arch. I.* I, 1886, taf. 10, 2a.  
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 534. Mourning Slave.  
 " " " " No. 646. Amazon.  
 Boston Museum of Fine Arts, red-figured cylix, No. 91.223; cf. also Nos. 76.44, 93.104, and 90.157.  
 Dumont et Chaplain, *Céramique de la Grèce Propre*, pl. 8, red-figured Attic vase = Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, fig. 146 = N. Y. Metro. Mus. G. R. 1243.  
 Conze, *Grabreliefs*, No. 410. Servant.
- IIIa<sup>2</sup>. Furtw. u. Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenm.* taf. 20.  
 " " " " " " 68.  
 " " " " " " 87.2 = Buschor, *Griech. Vasenm.* Abb. 161.
- IIIb. Conze, *Grabreliefs*, Nos. 67, 71, 448, 581, 805. (Here as Fig. 4; see also Figs. 5, 6, and 7.)
- IIIc. Conze, *Grabreliefs*, Nos. 74 and 1088.  
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 502, an Athena in Madrid.  
 Red-figured vase, Boston Mus. of Fine Arts, No. 96.719. (Note also figure from column-base of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, now in the British Museum, here as Fig. 8.)
- IIId<sup>1</sup>. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 123. (Artemis.)
- IIId<sup>2</sup>. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 171. (Athena Medici.)  
 " " " " 308.  
 Conze, *Grabreliefs*, Nos. 335, 876, 896. (Here as Fig. 9.)
- IIId<sup>3</sup>. Conze, *Grabreliefs*, Nos. 332, 832, 875, 877, 881, 1131.

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## A TERRA-COTTA HEAD IN THE LOEB COLLECTION

RECENTLY my friend Dr. A. W. Barker, now of Wilmington, Delaware, has called to my attention a small terra-cotta head in the James Loeb Collection in Munich,<sup>1</sup> which bears a striking resemblance to the well-known Fentelic marble head of an athlete found at Olympia and now in the museum there.<sup>2</sup> This marble head I have elsewhere<sup>3</sup> ascribed to Lysippus, having connected it with the statue of an Acarnanian pancratiast—whose name I have restored as Philandridas—which Pausanias mentions in his *periegesis* of the Altis as the work of that sculptor. The Loeb head is almost perfectly preserved, only the tip of the nose being broken off, and merits the praise of Sieveking as being *ein ganz ausgezeichnetes Werk hellenistischer Porträtkunst*. He dates it in the third, or at latest in the second century B.C., a date with which I quite agree.

A brief comparison of the two heads, as reproduced in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 1), will show wherein the resemblance between them consists. Although this resemblance is very striking, we shall see that the Loeb head is in no sense an exact copy of the one from Olympia. In both heads we see the same graceful and challenging pose, each being inclined a little to the left and upwards, a movement corresponding with an energetic raising of the left shoulder, as the muscles of the neck disclose. The general proportions and the cranial outlines of the two are almost identical, both being round as in Attic works, as opposed to the square

<sup>1</sup> J. Sieveking, *Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb*, II, 1916, pl. 77, 2 (profile and front views); text, p. 14. The height of the head is there given as 0.083 meter and its provenience Greece. It is of a reddish tint, the face a deeper rose color, and the hair brown-red.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympia, Die Ergebnisse*, III, *Die Bildwerke von Olympia in Stein und Thon*, 1897, Tafelbd., pl. LIV, 3-4; Textbd. p. 209 and fig. 237; *Ausgrabungen von Olympia*, V, 1881, pl. XX and pp. 13-14 (Treu).

<sup>3</sup> First in my *de olympionicarum Statuis*, Halle, 1902 (enlarged, 1903), pp. 27f.; later in *A.J.A.*, XI, 1907, pp. 396-416, and figs. 1-6; and recently in *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, 1921, pp. 293f., Frontispiece and fig. 69.

type of heads found in the works of Peloponnesian sculptors, which are flatter on top and longer from front to back. In each head we see the same low forehead with a deep crease across the middle, below which the superciliary arcade prominently projects. We see in both the same high cheek-bones and small mouth with parted lips showing the teeth, and a similar oval contour of the lower face ending in a strong chin. The hair of



A

B

FIGURE 1.—A: HEAD OF TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE: MUNICH; B: MARBLE HEAD OF ATHLETE: OLYMPIA.

each is closely cropped, as we should expect in athlete heads, and is composed of short and tense ringlets which are ruffled straight up from the forehead in flat relief, bounding the forehead with a symmetrically curved line. Especially in the modeling of the eyes in both heads do we see great resemblance. They are wide-open, deeply set, and powerfully framed, being thrown into shadow by the prominent brows. The balls are slightly arched and raised as if they were looking into the distance, and this look increases the air of pensiveness which the artist of each head evidently intended to express. The upper lids are formed of



narrow and sharply defined borders and are not covered with folds of skin at their outer corners. The ears are in each case small, though prominent, and are battered and swollen as in heads of boxers and pancratiasts.

But, despite these general resemblances, a closer examination will also disclose differences in the details of the two heads. The terra-cotta head is fleshier and less bony in its structure, and this gives to it a softer appearance. Its lower face is more oval in contour, and the upper face is certainly broader than in the head from Olympia. Its chin, therefore, is not so strong or energetic. The elegant contour of the lips of the Loeb head cannot be seen in the one from Olympia, since they are there broken away. The eyes of the Munich head are irregularly placed, as Sieveking has noted, but not for the reason which he gives, namely, the result of the lively turn of the head, for they are horizontally placed in the Olympia marble where the turn of the head is identical. More probably this irregularity is merely due to faulty modeling, as it is not uncommonly found in Hellenistic works. For example, we see an irregular treatment of the eye in the marble head from Sparta now in private possession in Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup> The muscles of the neck also appear more accentuated in the Munich head.

But the chief difference in the two heads is found in their expression. The head from Olympia is in no sense a portrait, nor even individualized, but an ideal head of a victor *κατ' ἐξοχήν* in the pancratium.<sup>2</sup> But the modeler of the Loeb head has consciously endeavored to convert his model into a portrait. The energetic expression of the Olympia head, whose defiant and even fierce expression is a bit dramatic in intensity, and has led many archaeologists to interpret it as the representation of a youthful Heracles,<sup>3</sup> is softened in the Loeb head. In fact the fierceness and brutality of the Acarnanian boxer have disappeared, though the pensiveness, which also characterizes the Olympia head, is here, perhaps, even more compelling. The resultant expression

<sup>1</sup> See *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, pp. 305f., and fig. 72. On p. 316, note 3, I have pointed out the droop in the axis of the right eye which causes the ball to turn in, and gives to the face a look of greater intensity.

<sup>2</sup> Philandridas won the pancratium at Olympia in Ol. 102 or Ol. 103 (372 or 368 B.C.); see *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, p. 300. This statue, then, was probably one of the earliest works of Lysippus.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Treu, in *Bildwerke von Olympia*, Textbd., p. 208; E. Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke*, 1890, p. 43, note 1; Flasch, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 OO; Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. Herakles, I, 2, p. 2166; etc.



of the face of the terra-cotta head is, then, more boyish and far more attractive.

We conclude, then, that the artist of this beautiful little terra-cotta head freely used the marble statue of the Acarnanian athlete for his model, but did not slavishly copy it in detail. That an inferior artist of the century after Lysippus should have done this for his less pretentious effort is certainly evidence of the fame of the athlete statue from which the Olympia head has come. It strengthens indirectly, therefore, the proofs which I have elsewhere adduced that that statue was the work of Lysippus himself, the great fourth century bronze founder and worker in marble.

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A SARCOPHAGUS AT CORINTH

[PLATES VIII-IX]

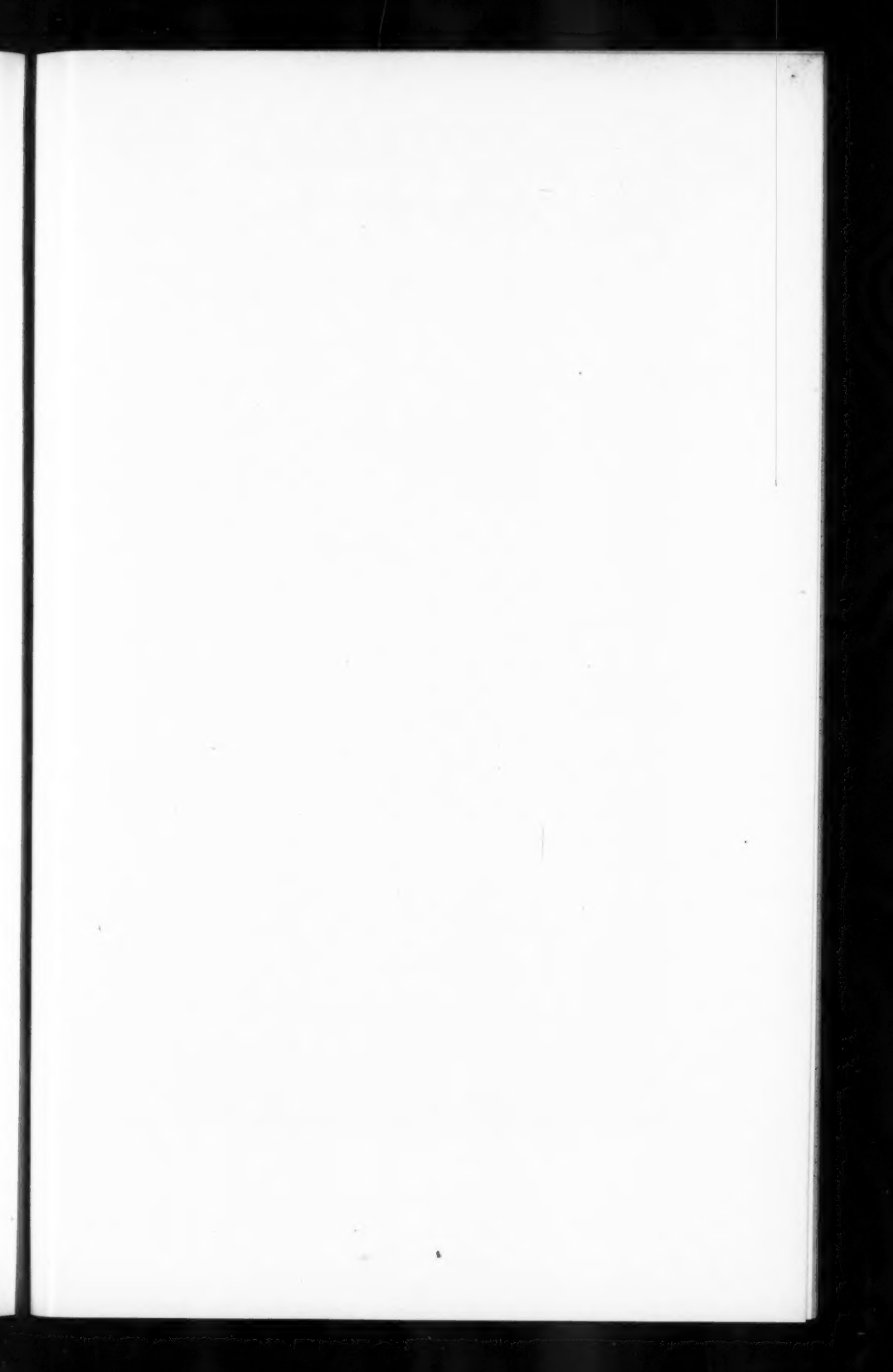
IN 1906 Stavros Nikolaou found a large marble sarcophagus in his vineyard which lies in the plain to the north of Old Corinth in the *Θέσις Κορινθιά*. The discovery was made at a point just east of the road from the "Baths of Aphrodite" to the sea and about one kilometer from the "Baths." The sarcophagus was bought by the Greek Government<sup>1</sup> and is now in the Corinth Museum.

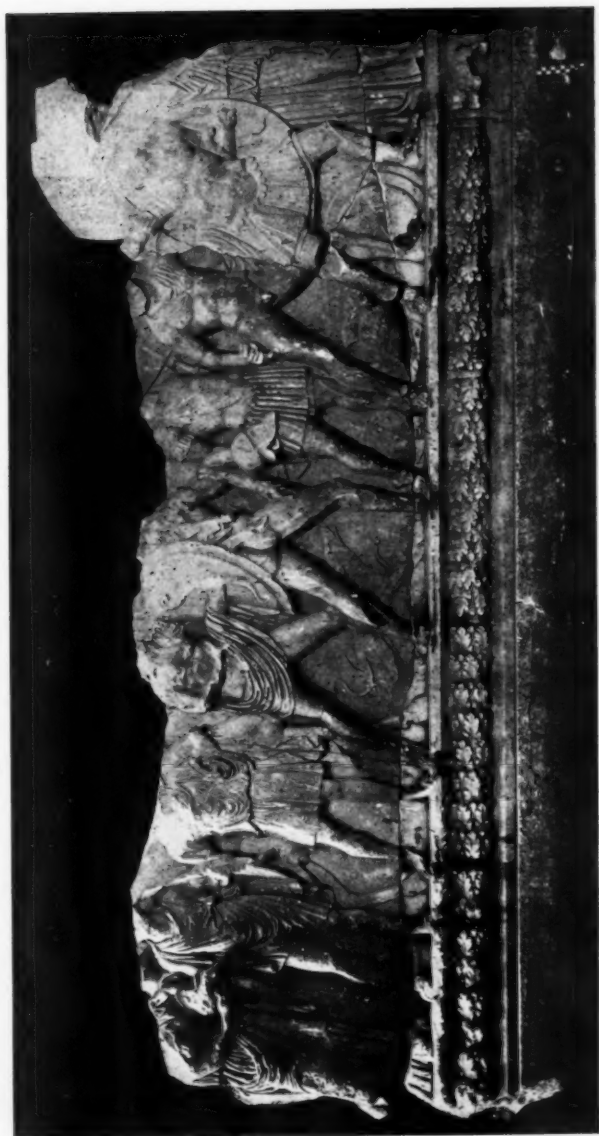
The entire left end<sup>2</sup> and most of the back of the sarcophagus are missing. The front and right end (Plates VIII and IX) are fairly well preserved and three large pieces of the lid are extant. The height, as measured at the right end (Fig. 1), is 1.535 m. including the lid, which is 0.32 m. thick. The width is 1.175 m. and the preserved length 2.505 m. Despite the break at the left end, the original length can be determined within one or two centimeters by measuring the oak leaf band on the lower part of the front (Plate VIII). This band was divided into four sections by simple fillets, a double one at each end, and three single ones between. At the corner is a slightly projecting base, 0.21 m. long, and the distance from this to the central fillet is 1.10 m. Half the length, therefore, is 1.31 m., and consequently the total length must have been 2.62 m.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, about the middle of the left end, a fragment

<sup>1</sup> I wish to make acknowledgment to the Greek Government, Department of Antiquities, and especially to the ephor, Mr. Keramopoulos, for their kindness in granting me permission to publish the sarcophagus. To Mr. B. H. Hill, Director of the American School at Athens, I am indebted for information concerning the discovery of the sarcophagus and for assistance in photographing it. To Professor C. H. Young of Columbia University I owe valuable criticism and suggestions.

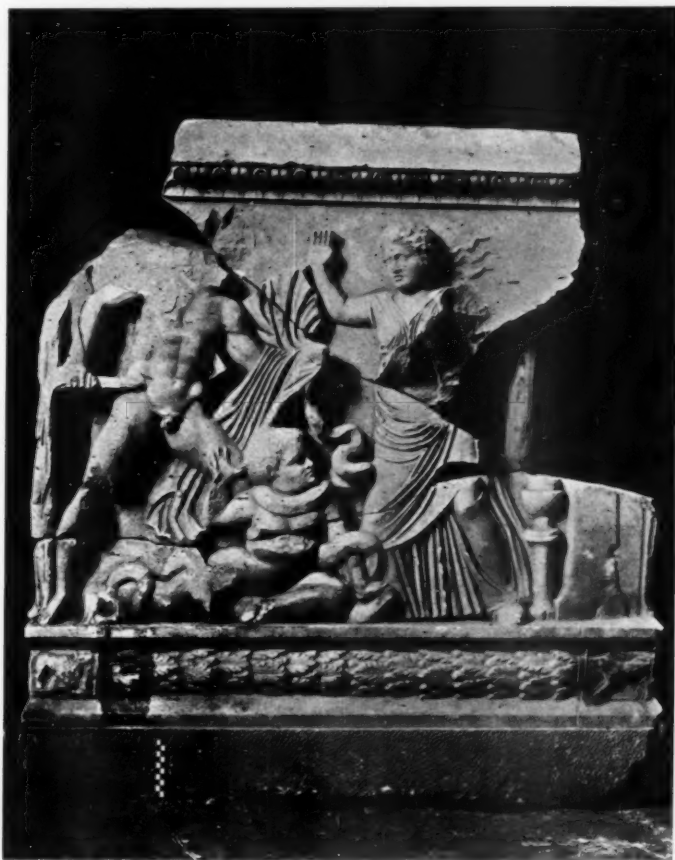
<sup>2</sup> The ends will be designated left and right from the point of view of a person facing the front, even when mentioned in connection with the back.

<sup>3</sup> Proof of the accuracy of this calculation is found in a study of the corresponding parts of the oak leaf band. From the centre to the first fillet on the right is 0.55 m., to that on the left 0.54 m. From the first fillet on the right to the corner base is 0.55 m., but at the left the corner base and double fillet have





THE SEVEN AGAINST THEBES: SARCOPHAGUS AT CORINTH.



THE DEATH OF ARCHEMORUS: SARCOPHAGUS AT CORINTH.



of the inside of the end wall of the sarcophagus is preserved, rising one or two centimeters above the floor. This fixes the interior length as 2.20 m. The right end wall is 0.15 m. thick (Fig. 1) and the mouldings project 0.06 m. beyond it. If we assume the left end wall and mouldings to have had the same thickness, the total length is again found to be 2.62 m.<sup>1</sup>

At the bottom of the sarcophagus is a roughly picked surface, 0.14 m. high, which was intended, presumably, to be set in the ground. Above this is an ornamental band, 0.185 m. in height, accentuated at the corners by the slightly projecting bases already mentioned. On the front and right end these bases are adorned with animals, but at the back they are plain. The single base preserved in front (Plate VIII) shows a lion charging to the left, while the base adjoining it on the front corner of the right end (Plate IX) has a lion pulling down a bull. The other base on this end bears the figure of a wild boar. On the front and right end between the corner bases are bands of oak leaves which lie in opposite directions, right and left of the centre. Though somewhat heavy, these are cut with considerable care and, while the veining is shown by incised lines, there is no deep undercutting or drill work. At the back the oak leaves are omitted and this space, as well as the corner bases and simple mouldings, is finished with a tooth chisel. Above this ornamental band is the main field of decoration, crowned by mouldings 0.135 m. high, which are preserved at the right end. They consist of a leaf and tongue, rather

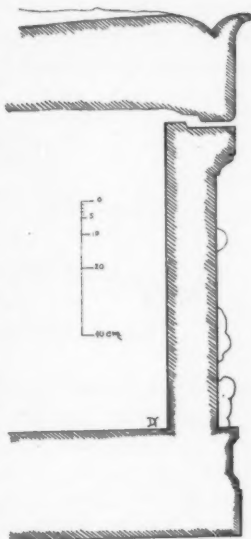


FIGURE 1.—RIGHT END OF SARCOPHAGUS AT CORINTH: SECTION.

<sup>1</sup>  $0.06 + 0.15 + 2.20 + 0.15 + 0.06 = 2.62$ .

deeply cut, and a broad platband, above which is the rebate that held the lid (Fig. 1 and Plate IX).

The three fragments of the lid, though much damaged, indicate its original form quite clearly. Two pieces, which preserve the full width of the cover, join together, while a third, which comes from the right end, belongs very near, if not actually adjoining them. The lid was of the *κλίση*, or couch, type<sup>1</sup> with a single reclining figure. On the under side are rebates corresponding to those on top of the sarcophagus (Figs. 1 and 2). The right end, or head of the couch (Fig. 1) was rounded up to form a rest for the elbow and was finished by a projecting moulding which was car-

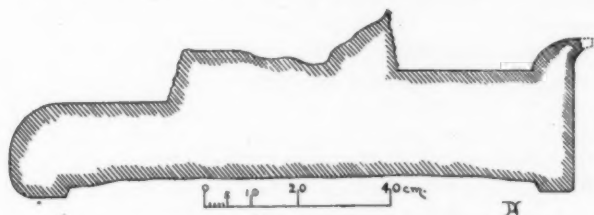


FIGURE 2.—LID OF SARCOPHAGUS AT CORINTH: SECTION.

ried across the back and probably returned across the foot.<sup>2</sup> The front presents the rounded edge of the mattress, banded by a group of fillets, in the manner of a sarcophagus of Parian marble from Kertsch, which when last heard of was in the Hermitage at Petrograd.<sup>3</sup> The reclining figure has been destroyed, but portions of the drapery, and the left knee and heel are preserved. These suffice to show that the figure, probably male, reclined with the left leg crossed beneath the right. It is certain, by comparison with similar figures, that this figure rested on the left elbow.<sup>4</sup> The remains of drapery and the left knee and heel show a summary treatment with no attention to modelling. It is crude, careless work which contrasts strongly with the reliefs on the body of the sarcophagus.

The back of the sarcophagus is preserved to a length of 1.80 m.,

<sup>1</sup> W. Altmann, *Arch. u. Orn. d. ant. Sark.* pp. 41 ff.

<sup>2</sup> As in the Louvre example, Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-reliefs*, II, 69.

<sup>3</sup> Robert, *op. cit.* II, 21. The Corinth example differs from this in having five fillets in each group. Moreover, the spaces between the fillets are slightly reeded and are not decorated with carved ornament.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for similar figures, Robert, *op. cit.* II, 21, 25, 69, III<sup>a</sup>, 160, etc.



but the upper part has been destroyed, except at the right end, where it stands to a height of 0.62 m. (Fig. 3). At this corner is the lower part of a draped female figure, broken at the knees. The weight rested on her right leg and her left knee was slightly bent. The drapery falls in simple, straight folds, and is caught over the left foot so as to reveal the toe of her shoe. To the right of this figure the smooth background of the relief is not so highly polished as on the front and right end. On it is the end of an oddly shaped fillet and the lower part of a heavy garland of fruit. A close parallel to this is found in the sarcophagus from Kertsch already mentioned. It has the same ornamental band with the

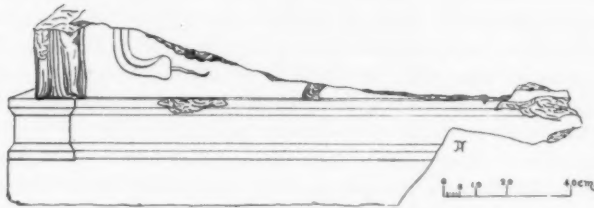


FIGURE 3.—BACK OF SARCOPHAGUS AT CORINTH.

corner bases and oak leaves, though the latter are, in this case, on the back instead of the front, and female figures at the corners. Fruit garlands and fillets of the same peculiar shape as at Corinth also appear on it. Another sarcophagus, from Salonica, now in the Louvre,<sup>1</sup> has similar garlands and fillets, though hermae replace the female figures at the corners. These two examples show in a general way the original design of the back of the Corinth sarcophagus, though it undoubtedly differed in detail. On the Kertsch example the two swags are held in the middle by a child, in the Louvre by an eagle. Though the breakage of the Corinth sarcophagus has left no trace of such central support, it is clear that it originally had two swags. Something has been broken away, however, at the bottom of the relief about 0.90 m. from the corner. This seems too far from the centre to be part of such a supporting figure, but nearer the middle, between 1.37 m. and 1.43 m. from the right end, there is a break in the background. It is possible that there was a point of attachment here, though I, personally, doubt this. The female figure was in all

<sup>1</sup> Robert, *op. cit.* II, 69.

probability a sort of caryatid used to enclose the scene<sup>1</sup> and there must have been a similar figure at the other corner.

The front is fairly well preserved (Plate VIII), though some twenty centimeters are missing at the left end, and the top mouldings, as well as the heads of the figures, have been destroyed. There are at present two female figures at the left end, then seven armed male figures, and finally a single female figure at the right corner. Originally there was a similar figure at the left end. There are at least 0.20 m. missing at this corner and it is inconceivable that this space was left vacant, when the two figures adjoining it are so crowded as to overlap. Moreover, there is a fragment of drapery at the extreme left edge, which can only be explained as part of the garment of the missing figure.<sup>2</sup> The chiton of the extant corner figure has a bib and is girt to form a deep *κόλπος*, or fold. The straight lines of her garment break above her feet, revealing the fact that she wears shoes. This figure is undoubtedly a caryatid, or enclosing figure, like the one on the back of the sarcophagus, but her drapery is handled with greater care, as is fitting in view of her more important position. In both cases the treatment is derived from Greek models of the good classical period.

Between the enclosing caryatids the figures may be divided into three groups which maintain a certain balance. At the left two women and the first two warriors<sup>3</sup> form a group which is linked with the central figures by the forward movement of the second warrior's horse. This central group consists of two men, slightly larger than the rest, who stride forward, carrying out the general theme of the composition—an increasing forward movement to the right. The unity of the group, however, is maintained by the balance of the two figures, one in front view, the other presenting his back, the one looking ahead, the other behind. The forward movement is arrested by the fifth warrior, who, however, maintains his position in the final group by the direction of his gaze. The sixth warrior resumes the impetuous advance, which is continued by the seventh. At the same time this last figure preserves

<sup>1</sup> This was a common motive in sarcophagi of this type. Cf. Robert, *op. cit.* II, 21, 23, 69, 74, III<sup>2</sup>, 144.

<sup>2</sup> At the level of the knees the corner figure in front is 0.18 m. broad, that on the back 0.17 m. At the same level at the left end of the front there is space for a figure 0.20–0.22 m. broad, so that the existence of such a figure is physically possible.

<sup>3</sup> For convenience I have numbered the warriors from one to seven, beginning at the left

the unity of the group and keeps the whole composition together by his fine gesture and backward look.

The group at the left is clearly a scene of parting. The first woman, clad in a long chiton, girt at the waist, over which she wears the himation, is handing the first warrior his helmet. The lower part of her right leg has been destroyed, but the toes of her left foot appear beneath the chiton. She wears sandals. Her head, which is missing, was turned toward the first warrior. He stands in front view, with his weight on his left leg and his right arm hanging by his side.<sup>1</sup> On his left arm is a round shield and at his side is girt a sword. He wears high boots and a short cloak—the *chlamys*, fastened by a large, round brooch. The head seems to have been *en face*, to judge from the remains of neck and chin. Between these two, in low relief, is the second woman, who wears a long chiton. Her head is broken at the upper lip and the chin is chipped. With her right hand she is adjusting a fold of her garment at the shoulder. The second warrior wears a short chiton and a cloak which was probably caught on his broken right shoulder. A sword is slung at his left side and in his right hand he held a short spear,<sup>2</sup> a piece of which is still attached to the arm. He bends slightly back to brace against the horse which he held with his left hand. The horse appears in low relief behind the warriors. The curve of its neck and the position of the warrior's arm indicate that the head was held up against the rein.<sup>3</sup> Man and horse, in their restrained forward movement, form the transition to the next figures, but are kept within the first group by the warrior's head, which, as far as one can judge by the cords of the neck and the line of the chin, seems to have been turned back.

The central group consists of the third and fourth warriors. The former is nude except for an awkwardly draped mantle, while the latter is clad only in a boar's skin, flung across his left shoul-

<sup>1</sup> There is a small, round lump at the inside of his left wrist, which seems to have belonged to some object held in the hand, though this may be an accidental effect caused by the undercutting of his thumb, which is lacking.

<sup>2</sup> The spear must have been short as its head cannot have extended above the upper mouldings and its haft must have ended just below his hand. Had it been extended, it would have struck his leg and there is no trace of a point of attachment.

<sup>3</sup> The horse's position was similar to that of a horse in the Parthenon frieze (A. H. Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 62). The man can be paralleled in the same monument (*op. cit.* pl. 64). A slight projection to the left of the third warrior's shoulder probably marks the attachment of the horse's lower jaw and the second warrior's hand.

der with the hind legs hanging stiffly across his right arm. His right hand is concealed behind the next figure. On his left arm is a round shield, which has been skilfully utilized as a background for the bow carried by the third warrior. This is held in his left hand and, at first sight, he appears to have been drawing an arrow to the head. If so, the arrow must have been of metal, but his hands are so mutilated as to have destroyed any evidence of its attachment. Moreover, there is no other place in the sarcophagus where metal was used, but there is evidence of painting. It is obvious that neither the arrow nor the bowstring<sup>1</sup> could have been painted across the warrior's mantle, but the string could have stretched from end to end of the bow, passing behind his arm. This leaves unexplained the action of his right hand. Possibly he grasped the hilt of his sword, the strap of which crosses his right shoulder and disappears at his right hand. Behind the legs of these figures is a dog in low relief. He bounds forward with his tail waving, his tongue out, and his deep-set eye gazing up and forward. His existence is due to the artist's desire to fill vacant space.

The fifth warrior, with whom the third group commences, has an erect bearing which serves to check the forward impetus given by the preceding figures. He is barefoot, but wears greaves and a corselet with short sleeves and skirt of some heavy material, below which appears his short chiton. At his left side is hung a sword, in his right hand he carries a helmet,<sup>2</sup> and on his left shoulder rests a ladder. Filling the space between his legs is a quiver in low relief with a cover and short cord.<sup>3</sup> The next warrior is nude with the exception of a cloak, which is fastened on his right shoulder and thrown across his left arm. He strides forward determinedly with his shield on his arm and a sword<sup>4</sup> firmly grasped in

<sup>1</sup> A similar bow is seen on a sarcophagus of the same type at Athens and here the bowstring is shown plastically. This was not the case at Corinth, nor was it of metal. Cf. 'Αρχ. Εφ. 1890, πιν. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The helmet is of the Corinthian type, as is that held by the woman, though the lower part of the latter is mutilated. Below the eyehole is a rosette in relief and on the crown of the helmet a much battered figure resembling an eagle, or possibly a harpy. The relief is awkward at this point, as the warrior's arm appears to pass through the top of the helmet.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for quivers of this type 'Αρχ. Εφ. 1890, πιν. 9; Robert, *op. cit.* III<sup>3</sup>, 231. The first of these is dated in the early Antonine period, the other in the first half of the second century.

<sup>4</sup> Only the hilt is preserved, but a point of attachment for the blade is still visible on the upper arm.

his right hand. A large Corinthian helmet in low relief is seen between his legs. It is crested and below the large eyehole there seem to be slight remains of a rosette. On the crown is a griffon with upraised paw. The seventh warrior is the most elaborately dressed. He wears greaves and a corselet with an ornamental edging at the neck and armholes and a scalloped border at the bottom. The cloth sleeves and skirt of the fifth warrior are replaced here by leather lappets, each fringed by three beaded strings. Below these appears the edge of his chiton. He carries a shield and has a sword at his side, the hilt of which is adorned with an animal's head. He is further distinguished by his thick-soled sandals,<sup>1</sup> and his helmet.<sup>2</sup> A shield in low relief, bearing a sphinx with upraised right paw, fills the opening between his legs.

The subject of this relief is, so far as I know, unique in classical art. It represents the Seven against Thebes setting out from Argos. The certain identification of the seven warriors with the Seven against Thebes is made possible by the fifth warrior, the one who carries a ladder. From literature<sup>3</sup> we learn that Capaneus was struck by lightning while scaling the walls of Thebes with a ladder, and this scene is fairly common in art.<sup>4</sup> As no other hero of antiquity is associated with a ladder, its presence here is sufficient to identify the fifth warrior with Capaneus. The scene of parting at the left and the beckoning seventh warrior fix the moment as that of the departure of the Seven, presumably from Argos.

The exact identification of the other six warriors is impossible, though plausible attributions may be made for most of them. In fact, I doubt whether the artist had definite heroes in mind when he carved the individual figures, with the exception of the fifth and, possibly, the fourth. The following discussion, therefore, gives the most plausible attributions without attempting to dogmatize.

The fourth warrior is distinguished by the boar's hide. Euripi-

<sup>1</sup> As only the soles are represented, the straps must have been painted.

<sup>2</sup> All that remains of the helmet is the end of its crest, which can be seen in several incised lines coming to a point above the figure's left shoulder.

<sup>3</sup> Eurip. *Phoen.* 1172 ff.; *Suppl.* 496 ff.; Diodorus IV, 65, 8; Apollod. *Bib.* III, 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Benndorf, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaski-Trysa*, pl. XXIV, A4; Robert, *op. cit.* II, 184; Brunn-Körte, *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche*, II. pls. XXII-XXIV; 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1889, pl. II, 15, pp. 101 ff. (Coin of Septimius Severus from Βιζύης in Thrace).

des<sup>1</sup> mentions the oracle of Loxias commanding Adrastus to wed his daughters to a lion and a boar. This refers to a story, variously told, that Tydeus and Polynices, having sought shelter for the night in the palace of Adrastus, fell to fighting. Adrastus, thereupon, recognized in them the lion and the boar of the oracle, for, according to Hyginus,<sup>2</sup> Polynices was clad in the lion's skin and Tydeus in the boar's hide. The fourth warrior, therefore, may be identified with Tydeus.

Amphiaraus, the seer who prophesied the defeat of the expedition, plays an important part in the story, but unfortunately he has no distinctive attributes, though in art he is generally represented in his chariot. The story, however, is told that, when he opposed the expedition against Thebes, Adrastus bribed his sister, Eriphyle, wife of Amphiaraus, to persuade him to accompany the expedition, by offering her the golden necklace said to have been given to Harmonia by Aphrodite.<sup>3</sup> Since the only scene in art drawn from the departure of the Seven from Argos, of which I know, is the parting of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle,<sup>4</sup> and since the first warrior is obviously taking leave of a woman, it is possible that these are Amphiaraus and Eriphyle.

The seventh warrior is clearly the leader of the expedition, as is shown by his commanding position and gesture, and his elaborate armor. His identification, however, is uncertain. Adrastus is included in all but two of the lists of the Seven found in literature. In four of these<sup>5</sup> he is named first, and in another<sup>6</sup> last. Moreover, in the two exceptions<sup>7</sup> he is considered as a member of the expedition. Polynices, however, is included in all the lists and is the instigator and cause of the expedition. Furthermore, if we identify the seventh warrior with Adrastus, the three unnamed warriors have no attributes to connect them with Polynices, whereas, if the leader is Polynices, the second warrior may be taken for Adrastus. The deciding feature is the horse, for we know from literary sources<sup>8</sup> that Adrastus possessed a famous

<sup>1</sup> *Phoen.* 409 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Fab.* 69; cf. also *Apollod. Bib.* III, 6, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Apollod. Bib.* III, 6, 2; *Diodorus*, IV, 65, 5-6; *Hygin. Fab.* 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. del. Inst.* 1843, Vol. III, pl. LIV; *Ann. del. Inst.* 1843, Vol. XV, pp. 206 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Apollod. Bib.* III, 6, 3; *Diodorus*, IV, 65, 7; *Hygin. Fab.* 70; *Paus.* X, 10, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Eurip. Phoen.* 1134 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Aesch. Sept.* 50; *Eurip. Suppl.* 860 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Homer, Il. Ψ*, 346 ff.; *Apollod. Bib.* III, 6, 7; *Hygin. Fab.* 70, 71a.



horse, Arion, by which he was saved after the attack on Thebes. As a horse is not closely connected with any other of the Seven, it seems plausible to identify the second warrior with Adrastus and the seventh with Polynices.

Of the remaining warriors, the third and sixth, one may be the burly Hippomedon,<sup>1</sup> who is included in most lists of the Seven, the other a vague seventh—the youthful Parthenopaeus,<sup>2</sup> or Eteoclus,<sup>3</sup> or even Mecisteus.<sup>4</sup> As the third warrior is clearly the older and more massive of the two, he should be identified with Hippomedon, leaving the more youthful sixth as a possible Parthenopaeus.

The group on the right end of the sarcophagus (Plate IX) consists of three figures. In the centre is a child, seated on the ground and involved in the coils of a serpent, the raised head of which is missing. At the left a nude male figure rushes forward, a drawn sword in his right hand and his mantle thrown across his left forearm to serve as a shield.<sup>5</sup> His head has been destroyed. To balance him a female figure advances hurriedly from the right, hair flying and right hand upraised in a gesture of dismay. She wears shoes, a long chiton, and an himation, which she seems to have gathered up in her left hand, though this arm and shoulder have been broken away. Behind her appear two objects, the upper parts of which have been destroyed. At the right edge, however, of the fragment on which is the woman's head there is preserved the profile and upraised left paw of a sphinx.<sup>6</sup> This is in line with a continuation of the left vertical edge of the right hand object, which seems to have been a stele surmounted by the sphinx. The spindle-like object between this stele and the woman cannot be identified with certainty.<sup>7</sup>

These figures are not so well executed as those on the front.

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 475.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 520.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 445.

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. *Bib.* III, 6, 3.

<sup>5</sup> A close parallel for the pose of this figure is found in a fragment of a sarcophagus, likewise found at Corinth (cf. Robert, *op. cit.* II, 116a).

<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, this can only be seen with difficulty in my photograph. The paw is unbroken, as is also the lower portion of the face. The eye, forehead, and hair are so badly chipped that the bare outlines remain. Between chin and paw appears the curve of the breast. The head is only 0.045 m. in height. The appearance of the sphinx here and on the shield in front is perfectly natural, in view of its prominent part in the Theban legend.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 440, note 2.

The nude portions of the man are treated in the same manner, but the modelling is more sketchy, especially in the right arm. The woman's upraised arm is very wooden in appearance and her drapery harsh and stiff, as compared with the other female figures. The same may be said of the man's cloak, with its impossible fold, flying up above his arm. The child's figure is entirely too large and very crude in execution. The legs are poorly articulated, the feet impossible. The gesture is stiff and the modelling cursory and incorrect. The heads of the child and woman are the only ones on the whole sarcophagus that are preserved. Both have heavy chins and sulky mouths with thick lips. The child's head is poorly proportioned, with the ear too far back and the eye too large. The iris is indicated by a circular hollow. This is not true of the woman's eyes, where the eyeball is plain. Her head is better proportioned and the features are more regular and pleasing.

In order to identify this scene we must return to the story of the Seven. After leaving Argos the expedition came to Nemea where it met with a certain Hypsipyle, nurse to Opheltes, son of Lycus, king of that land. The Seven asked her to guide them to water, and she, fearing to lay the child upon the ground, placed him on a lofty bank of parsley by the fountain. For there had been an oracle that, were he set upon the ground before he could walk, the boy would die. Then, while Hypsipyle was assisting the warriors, a serpent, guardian of the spring, killed Opheltes (or, as some call him, Archemorus). But Adrastus and the others killed the serpent and held funeral games in honor of the boy, thus establishing the Nemean games.<sup>1</sup>

The right end of the Corinth sarcophagus represents this incident. The moment chosen is that when, the serpent having coiled itself about the boy, one of the heroes rushes forward to kill it, while Hypsipyle hurries up in fear and dismay. The two objects at the right may well have represented the fountain beside which the action took place.<sup>2</sup> The scene is appropriately used in close connection with the departure from Argos, and may symbolize the disastrous ending of the expedition, since Apollo-

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. *Hypsip.*; Hygin. *Fab.* 74; Apollod. *Bib.* III, 6, 4; Paus. II, 15, 2.

<sup>2</sup> The spindle-like object would then have formed the supporting shaft of a basin into which the water might have flowed from a spout in the stele. A similar fountain is seen on a relief in the Vatican, cf. Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*, pl. LXXIV.



dorus tells us that Amphiaraus held this to be an omen of their future misfortunes.

The death of Opheltes seems to have been a common coin type in Roman days both at Corinth and Argos<sup>1</sup> and to have been used also on Roman grave stelae.<sup>2</sup> It appears on a "wish-bone" cylix in the British Museum<sup>3</sup> and on an amphora from Ruvo, which is in the Hermitage at Petrograd.<sup>4</sup> On another vase from Ruvo<sup>5</sup> is seen the "laying out" of Archemorus. His death is found in relief on an Etruscan funerary urn,<sup>6</sup> and on a Hellenistic relief of the Palazzo Spada,<sup>7</sup> where two warriors attack the serpent. Another representation occurs in a fresco from Pompeii,<sup>8</sup> and here again there are two warriors, in addition to Hypsipyle, Opheltes, and the serpent. These examples are sufficient to show that in Roman times this was one of the favorite scenes drawn from Greek legend for artistic representation. It is not surprising then to find it on a sarcophagus which is clearly of Roman date.

The conclusion that the Corinth sarcophagus was made in the period of Roman domination is based on the style, the form, and in particular on the couch lid. These lids in the form of funerary couches, though found in Greek lands in isolated examples from the fourth century B.C. on, are, none the less, a conception primarily Etruscan. It is from Etruria that they entered Rome, and from Rome in the imperial period they penetrated Greek lands.<sup>9</sup> Therefore the fact that our sarcophagus had a lid of this type is sufficient in itself to suggest a Roman date. The execution of the reclining figure, moreover, in so far as one may judge in its mutilated state, is consistent with this.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 33, pl. I, 2-9. A Corinthian coin of the time of Caracalla (pl. I, 9) resembles the Corinth sarcophagus in its presentation of the subject.

<sup>2</sup> My authority for this statement is Baumeister (*Denkmäler, s.v. Archemorus*), but I have been unable to verify it.

<sup>3</sup> Murray-Smith, *White Athenian Vases*, pl. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Overbeck, *Heroische Gallerie*, IV, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Overbeck, *op. cit.* IV, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Brunn-Körte, *op. cit.* II, pl. VII, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Schreiber, *op. cit.* pl. VI.

<sup>8</sup> Naples Museum, No. 8987.

<sup>9</sup> Th. Reinach in *Mon. Piot*, IX, 1912, p. 225.

<sup>10</sup> The arrangement of the legs with the left one crossed beneath the right, the summary execution of the left foot, and the flat, lifeless folds of the lower portions of the drapery find parallels in a sarcophagus from Salonica (Robert, *op. cit.* II, 69) and in the Kertsch example (*op. cit.* II, 21), both of which belong in the Antonine period.

The treatment of the figures, though based on Greek models of the good classical period, is late. The dryness and hardness of the nudes, the stiff formality and deep channelling of the drapery, especially noticeable on the right end, and the incised iris of the eye of the child, all demonstrate this. Another late feature is the introduction of objects having no real connection with the scene merely to fill vacant space, such as the dog, quiver, helmet, and shield in low relief on the front. The style of the reliefs, however, seems to be the product of a Greek stone-cutter who had been influenced by the art of Rome but still retained the old Hellenic ideals. He keeps his figures large and in a single relief plane, showing the Greek interest in the figures of the composition for themselves, rather than for their value as pattern.

In the second century A.D. there developed in Greece a type of sarcophagus which is to be distinguished as Greek, rather than Roman or Graeco-Roman, by certain marked characteristics which have been recognized by several scholars. Altmann<sup>1</sup> has attempted to differentiate this type, Weigand<sup>2</sup> accepts such a group, and Matz<sup>3</sup> has stated its more distinctive features, but as yet there has been no complete discussion of it. The obvious characteristics of these Greek sarcophagi of the Roman imperial period are the marked architectonic form, the decoration on all four sides, the use of Greek marble, and the high, gabled lids<sup>4</sup> usually covered with imbrications. Most of the examples of this type, which is dated in the second century and early third, have angle bases, generally adorned with animals, as in our sarcophagus. The sarcophagus from Salonica, mentioned above, is typical of the fully developed form of this group.

The Corinth sarcophagus clearly belongs to this Greek type. It has the architectonic form with angle bases and caryatids, which are found on several examples.<sup>5</sup> The mouldings are simple and few in number. The Lesbian cyma closely resembles cymas

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. u. Orn. d. ant. Sark.* pp. 86 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Jb. Arch. I.* 1914, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The pure Greek type followed the canon fixed in the fourth century B.C. by sarcophagi like the Alexander sarcophagus from Sidon, which is architectonic in form and has an imbricated, double-pitched lid. Couch lids, however, occur frequently on sarcophagi which in all other respects must be classed as Greek. They merely reflect the influences of Rome and of Roman burial customs on the Greeks.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Robert, *op. cit.* II, 21, 23, 69, 129.

which according to Weigand are survivals of the form used in late Hellenistic and early imperial times and are found at this late date only in the conservative Greek class of sarcophagi.<sup>1</sup> The relief decoration was, presumably, used on all four sides, though only three are preserved. The mouldings on the front and right end are identical, while on the back they are simplified and are not so highly finished. This is also characteristic of the Greek sarcophagi, where the front and one end are usually similar in subject and mouldings, while the back and the other end generally have less carefully finished mouldings and subjects of minor importance. The marble of the Corinth sarcophagus is Greek, although I have been unable to identify it certainly as from any particular quarry. It is too closely grained and not luminous enough to be an island marble, but whatever the quarry it may have come from, it certainly is not Italian.<sup>2</sup> The lid of the Corinth sarcophagus is not of the imbricated form typical of the class, but, as we have seen above (p. 442, note 4) the couch lid, though not characteristic, is frequently found on these sarcophagi.

A consideration of this Greek type of sarcophagus gives a *terminus a quo* for the date of the Corinth sarcophagus. There is no example of the group definitely dated before the reign of Antoninus Pius, which began in the year 138 A.D. The Kertsch sarcophagus forms the closest parallel to the one at Corinth, particularly in the decoration of the back and right end. This is dated by Robert<sup>3</sup> in the Antonine period, and by comparing it with the rest of the group I have come to the conclusion that it belongs to the middle of that period, possibly in the reign of Lucius Verus (161-169 A.D.). The Corinth example, however, seems somewhat earlier than the one from Kertsch. It lacks the acanthus

<sup>1</sup> *Jb. Arch. I.* 1914, p. 77. In Asiatic and Syrian ornament at this time the Lesbian cyma had split up in a coloristic sense, cf. Weigand, *op. cit.*, Abb. 34 d, e, f, g (Beilage 5 zu Seite 72).

<sup>2</sup> In my opinion the marble resembles certain samples of marble from the Parthenon, and I am inclined to think it Pentelic. Mr. A. R. Priest of Harvard University kindly submitted fragments from the sarcophagus and from an architrave block of the Parthenon to Mr. E. S. C. Smith of the Department of Geology at Harvard. Mr. Smith says that the chemical composition and grain of the two samples is identical. Because of the slight suggestion of color in the sarcophagus fragment he doubts whether both are from the same quarry, although he says that it would be quite possible to find marbles of such slight divergence in the same quarry, as parts of a quarry may be stained while others are pure.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* II, 26 ff.

*rinceau* and the complicated series of lower mouldings found on the latter; the drapery of the caryatids is more simply treated and is closer to good Greek models; and the figures, themselves, are less confused, having greater value as individual units. In size it is slightly lower and shorter than the sarcophagus from Kertsch, though the width is almost exactly the same. A comparison of the measurements of the group shows that the Kertsch sarcophagus sets the standard for later examples, while earlier ones are smaller. These considerations all point to a date for the Corinth sarcophagus slightly earlier than the Kertsch example. Therefore, it is probably to be assigned to the latter part of the reign of Antoninus Pius—about 145–161 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As I said above, this type of Greek sarcophagus of the second and third centuries has never been completely discussed nor its examples arranged in chronological order. I expect in a later article to discuss the group and attempt to establish its chronology. For the purposes of this article, I have made a tentative chronological list, which is given below.

<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Present Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Date</i>
Kephissia	Kephissia	Robert, <i>op. cit.</i> II, 9	Early Antonine
Patras	Athens	" " " III <sup>2</sup> , 216	" "
Kertsch	Petrograd	" " " II, 21	Middle "
Hierapetra	London	" " " II, 23	" "
Unknown	Constantinople	" " " II, 74	" "
Salonike?	"	" " " III <sup>2</sup> , 144	Late "
Salonike	Louvre	" " " II, 69	" "
Triest	Triest	" " " II, 29	" "
Atella	Barile	" " " II, 22	ca. 200 A.D.
Greek Islands	Petrograd	" " " II, 20	Early third cent.

# STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF LOCRIS III<sup>1</sup>

## A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM PHYSCUS IN WEST LOCRI

THE inscription published below I found, August 1, 1914, on the occasion of a hurried trip on foot through West Locris after the outbreak of the Great War. My squeeze-paper had been lost out of the pack in the rough country, and I had no time for an elaborate reproduction of the precise shapes of the letters (which, however, as I noted at the time, showed no peculiar features), but in essentials I trust that my copy is fairly accurate.<sup>2</sup> The general style is that of the second century B.C. The lines are somewhat irregular in length, due in part no doubt to the fact that the inscription was cut in the right end of a *hemicyclium*, numerous pieces of which and of the accompanying statue-base or altar lay about on the ground near the north-west corner of the ancient wall of Phycus, immediately south of the modern village of Malandrino.

Θ Ε Ο Σ Α Γ Α Θ Α Ι Τ Υ Χ Α Ι

Α Γ Ω Ν Θ Ε Τ Ε Ο Ν Τ Ο Σ Σ Τ Ρ Α Τ Α Γ Ο Υ Π Ο Ρ Θ Α Ο . . .

Φ Υ Σ Κ Ε Ο Σ Τ Ο Κ Ο Ι Ν Ο Ν Τ Ω Ν Λ Ο Κ Ρ Ω Ν Ε Δ Ω Κ Ε Α Ρ Ι Σ Τ Ο Κ Ρ Α . . .

. Ω Ι Ε Υ Α Γ Ο Ρ Α Α Χ Α Ι Ω Ι Ε Ξ Α Ι Γ Ι Ο Υ Τ Τ Ρ Ο Ξ Ε Ν Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι

5 Ε Υ Ε Ρ Γ Ε Ξ Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι Τ Τ Ο Ι Τ Ε Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι Α Ξ Υ Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι

Π Ρ Ο Δ Ι Κ Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι Α Τ Ε Λ Ε Ι Α Ν Τ Ρ Ο Ε Δ Ρ Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι Γ Α Ξ

Ε Ν Κ Τ Η Ξ Ι Ν Κ Α Ι Ο Ι Κ Ι Α Ξ Κ Α Ι Α Υ Τ Ω Ι Κ Α Ι Ε Γ Γ Ο Ν Ο Ξ

Κ Α Ι Τ Τ Ο Λ Ε Μ Ο Υ Κ Α Ι Ε Ι Ρ Α Ν Α Ξ Κ Α Ι Κ Α Τ Α Γ Α Ν

Κ Α Ι Κ Α Τ Α Θ Α Λ Α Ξ Ξ Α Ν Κ Α Ι Τ Α Α Λ Λ Α Ο Σ Α Κ Α Ι

10 Τ Ο Ξ Α Λ Λ Ο Ξ Τ Τ Ρ Ο Ξ Ε Ν Ο Ξ Κ Α Ι Ε Υ Ε Ρ Γ Ε Τ Α Ι

Ξ Δ Ι Δ Ο Τ Α Ι Τ Τ Α Ν Τ Α Ε Ν Γ Υ Ο Ι Τ Α Ξ Τ Τ Ρ Ο Ξ Ε

Ν Ι Α Ξ . . . . Ο Ι Τ Ε Λ Ε Ξ Α Ρ Χ Ο Ξ Δ Α Μ Ο Τ Ε Λ Ε Ο Ξ

Μ Ε Ν Α Ν Δ Ρ Ο Ξ Δ Υ Μ Α Ν

<sup>1</sup> See *A. J. A.* XX, 1916, pp. 32 ff.; 154 ff.; 346 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I should naturally have published this stone together with the inscriptions from East Locris (*A. J. A.* XIX, 1915, pp. 320 ff.), had not the card on which it was copied been misplaced, so that I did not find it again until July, 1921.

θεὸς ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι.

ἀγωνοθεύοντος Στρατάγου Πορθάουρος  
Φυσκέος, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λοκρῶν ἔδωκε Ἀριστοκρά[ται  
[τ]ῶι Εὐαγόρᾳ Ἀχαιῶι ἐξ Αἰγίου προξενίαν καὶ

5 εὐεργεσίαν καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ ἀστυλίαν καὶ  
προδικίαν καὶ ἀτελείαν, προεδρίαν καὶ γᾶς  
ἐγκτησιν καὶ οἰκίας καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις  
καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας καὶ κατὰ γᾶν  
καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ

10 τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέται-  
ς δίδοται πάντα. ἔνγνοι τᾶς προξε-  
νίας [Λοκρ]οὶ Τελέσαρχος Δαμοτέλεος,  
Μένανδρος Δυμάν.

The dating by the *agonothetes* indicates that West Locris is completely free from the Aetolian League; the inscription belongs, therefore, in the period after 166 B.C. (Salvetti, *Studi di Stor. Ant.*, II, 104; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XXXII, 161 ff.; *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1, 218k; *Syll. Inscr. Graec.*<sup>3</sup>, 291; more exactly, after some date between June and November, 166, see H. Pomtow, *Neue Jahrb.* CLV, 798, 8), and certainly before 100 (since all known inscriptions recording the West Locrian *agonothetes*, now 17 in number, including the present one,<sup>1</sup> see my forthcoming article 'Lokris' in Pauly-Wiss. *Realencycl.*, belong to the second century; cf. A. Nikitsky, *Journ. of the Min. for Popular Educ.* [Russian], 1911, *section for Class. Philol.*, Feb., pp. 70 ff. (inaccessible) and A. Wilhelm, *Jb. Oest. Arch. I.* XIV, 225). The view, however, of E. Nachmanson, *op. cit.* pp. 58 ff., that the West Locrian *κοινόν* was among those which the Romans dissolved in 146 (Paus. VII, 16, 9 f.) and had not yet restored by 143, is certainly incorrect,<sup>2</sup> since *S.G.D.I.* 1937 dates from ca. 145/4 (Pomtow, Pauly-Wiss., *op. cit.* IV, p. 2641), three other inscriptions which also mention the *agonothetes* coming a few years later (*i.e.*, *S.G.D.I.* 2140 from ca. 142/1; 2097 from ca. 133/2; and *B.C.H.* XXII, 10, No. 2, from 130). It would seem, therefore, that Niese (*Gesch. der griech. und maked. Staaten*, III, 356 and note 3; compare also Hitzig-Blümner on Paus. *loc. cit.*, and Nachman-

<sup>1</sup> E. Nachmanson's list, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXII, 60, 1, includes falsely *S.G.D.I.* 2568, which, like 2962, refers to the celebration of games at Delphi.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the criticism by H. Swoboda, *Staatsaltertümer* in Hermann's *Lehrbuch*, I, 3<sup>a</sup>, p. 368, 4.

son, *op. cit.* pp. 58 f.) was justified in restricting the statement of Pausanias regarding the dissolution of all the leagues in Greece, to those which actually took part in the war, since, although Pausanias also records the reestablishment of the leagues "not many years later," the inscriptions of 145/4 and 142/1 follow quite too close upon the war to admit of this explanation. It follows that West Locris, no doubt under Aetolian influence, took no part in the war against Rome, and hence the Locrians who suffered so severely at this time (Polyb. XXXVIII, 3, 8) were those of East Locris exclusively.

The present inscription can be placed shortly after 166 B.C. by means of the number of persons who can be identified from Delphic inscriptions of fixed date. Thus, Stratagos the son of Porthaon appears as a manumitter in 170 B.C. (*S.G.D.I.* 1739), and in 166 (*S.G.D.I.* 1851) a certain Stratagos, very probably the same person, is associated with Polemarchos, Callicrates and Crinias, who appear together in *I.G.* IX, 1, 349 and 351, inscriptions which date from a period soon after 170 (see Dittenberger on No. 349), while about the same time a Stratagos serves as a witness at Phycus (A. Wilhelm, *Beitr. zur griech. Inschriftenkunde*, 129).<sup>1</sup> Porthaon, son of Stratagos (obviously the grandfather of the present Stratagos), is a witness in 170 (*S.G.D.I.* 1739), and again a Porthaon, no doubt the same person, is a witness shortly after 170 (*I.G.* IX, 1, 352). Telesarchos, son of Damoteles (probably the *Boularch* of 189/8, *S.G.D.I.* 2070, 2139), appears as *agonothetes* in 154 (*S.G.D.I.* 1908). A Damoteles, son of Callicrates, is a witness in 130 (*B.C.H.* XXII, 10, No. 2), and a mere Damoteles from Phycus (very likely the same man) is a witness in 133 (*S.G.D.I.* 2097); he is pretty clearly the grandson of the Damoteles, father of Telesarchos, of the present inscription. The elder Damoteles must then have had two sons, Telesarchos and Callicrates, the latter being mentioned also in *I.G.* IX, 1, 349 (soon after 170) and *S.G.D.I.* 1851 (166 B.C.). Probably also Menandros, a secretary at Dyme, certainly in the third century B.C., and very likely in 219 (*Syll.*

<sup>1</sup> Since Stratagos and Porthaon appear as witnesses on the inscription published by Wilhelm, as well as in the group *I.G.* IX, 1, 349-52, one can supplement from Wilhelm's inscription in *I.G.* IX, 1, 350, with a high degree of probability, the following incomplete names: l. 6 Κριτ[όλαος], already suggested by Dittenberger (his son and grandson are mentioned in a Delphic inscription of 152, *S.G.D.I.* 2019), l. 7 Ἀριστο[δάμος], l. 9 Ἀλέξ[ανδρος].



*Inscr. Graec.*<sup>3</sup> 529 and Hiller von Gaertringen's note thereon), is the grandfather of the present guarantor.

l. 3. This is the only mention of the *κοινόν* of the West Locrians although the institution is presupposed by all the records which are dated by the *agonothetes*. Like other *κοινά* it bestowed proxeny (cf. Swoboda, *op. cit.* p. 473, s.v. Bundes-Proxenie), but the right of individual cities, members of the *κοινόν*, to do the same remained unimpaired (e.g. Chalaion from ca. 150 B.C., *I.G.* IX, 1, 330; cf. Swoboda, *op. cit.* p. 479, s.v. Städtische Proxenie in Bundesstädten).—That an inscription of the *κοινόν*, not referring directly to Phycus, is nevertheless recorded in that place, makes it very probable that this town was its official centre, and, since the eponymous magistrate was an *agonothetes*, that the *ἀγών* was held here, hence in honor of 'Αθηνᾶ 'Ιλιάς (mentioned in manumissions at Phycus, *I.G.* IX, 1, 349–52, Cohen, *B.C.H.* XXII, 354 ff., Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 129. 132 ff.), no doubt the equivalent of ἡ Δοκρὶς Αἰαυρία, the chief deity of Naryx (Wilhelm, *Jh. Oest. Arch.* I. XIV, 168 f.), in East Locris, the special home of the Locrian Ajax, who in turn, must have been identical with the 'Αθηνᾶ Αἰαυρίς of Megara, connected with the Telamonian Ajax (Paus. I, 42, 4). Accordingly Wilhelm's conjecture (*Beiträge*, p. 225 f.), that the festival at which the *agonothetes* presided was the 'Πiera (*I.G.* IV, 428), or 'Ρια (Plut. *Sep. Sap. Conv.* 19) at Antirrhion,<sup>1</sup> is almost certainly incorrect.

l. 4 ff. The formulae are unusually abundant but all are common enough.

l. 11. For the rare provision whereby a guarantor might be appointed, see the Aetolian decree of the year 182 B.C. (*Sylloge*,<sup>2</sup> 629, 31), ἐγγίως τῶν προξενῶν ὁ γραμματεὺς.

l. 12 f. That [Δοκρ]οί is the word to be supplied here seems likely from the name of the first guarantor, who is a citizen of Phycus.<sup>2</sup> The plural, however, is a bit surprising. One might have expected Δοκρὸς T. Δ. 'Αχαιὸς M. Δ., but there is no indication that any letters have been lost at the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> This was clearly in honor of Poseidon, see my article 'Antirrhion', in Pauly-Wiss. *op. cit.* *Supplbd.* III, 125 f.

<sup>2</sup> My colleague, Professor Arthur Stanly Pease, makes the interesting suggestion that the stonecutter carved ΕΝΓΥΟΙ twice by mistake, and then himself deleted, but not quite successfully, the repeated word. This may be the correct explanation, but the problem of the close political connection between Dyme and West Locris would still remain.

thirteenth line, and it is difficult to see how a citizen of an Achaean city, who was not at the same time also a Locrian, could function as a guarantor for a government to which he was not subject and by which normally he could not be called to account. [Λοκρ]οί is, accordingly, perhaps correct, and we are, therefore, probably to understand that the citizens of Dyme enjoyed complete isopolity with the West Locrians, precisely as the Ceans were one and all full citizens of the city of Naupactus, their *metropolis* (see *Sylloge*,<sup>3</sup> 522, III; Heraclides Pont., *F.H.G.* II, 214). That the Dymianes were otherwise closely connected with Physcus appears from the fact that two of them served as witnesses for the manumission of a slave at Physcus by citizens of the place (Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 129). Even more striking is the Φιλόνικος Δυμῶν (Δυμῶν Wescher-Foucart and Baunack) who is actually *agonothetes* of West Locris between 170–157/6 B.C. (*S.G.D.I.* 1842) and appears again as βεβαιωτῆρ in 166 for a Locrian manumission from Physcus (*S.G.D.I.* 1851).<sup>1</sup> For a citizen of Dyme to serve as *agonothetes* in a neighboring state is, indeed, singular, though undoubtedly quite legal (cf. E. Szanto, *Das griech. Bürgerrecht*, pp. 22 ff.), but, although the office in West Locris, because of its eponymous character, was no doubt technically an ἀρχή, and not as in Athens merely an ἐπιμέλεια (*I.G.* II, 307, and especially II, 379, 5 f.), still, in a loosely organized κοινόν like that of West Locris, there was doubtless very little business indeed for even the chief executive to perform, most of that probably coming at the festival season, so that the principal duty of this particular *agonothetes* was merely to defray the expenses of the celebration (cf. Reisch in Pauly-Wiss. *op. cit.* I, 873, 46 ff; 876, 42 ff.), a privilege which might, accordingly, among a notoriously poor people like the Western Locrians, be occasionally bestowed, without invidious discrimination, upon a friendly and wealthy foreigner, who was also technically a citizen of the country.

One might, indeed, regard Δυμῶν as the *ethnikon* of an otherwise unknown community in West Locris, but its use in the present inscription is strongly against that explanation, besides we have already such a multitude of place-names from West Locris, that a locality of sufficient consequence to produce an *agonothetes* could hardly have escaped every other record but these. Another

<sup>1</sup> Δυμῶν in these inscriptions is certainly not a phyle-name, as Baunack on *S. G. D. I.*, 1851, observes.

objection to the explanation proposed above, is that the ordinary *ethnikon* for Dyme is Δυμαῖος (so regularly in literature, and also on inscriptions, *Sylloge*,<sup>3</sup> 531 and 684 from Dyme itself, 702 (note) an Achaean inscription from Delphi, *I.G.* IV, 727 from Hermione, 925, 4 from Epidaurus). Δύμη is, however, a late name for the settlement, older designations being Paleia and Stratos (Philippson in Pauly-Wiss. *op. cit.* V, p. 1878), and is derived from the Δυμᾶνες who inhabited the region (Szanto in Pauly-Wiss. *op. cit.* V, p. 1876), so that Δυμαῖος was the local *ethnikon* probably employed in order to avoid confusion with the phyle-name Δυμᾶν (hence in literature, and in another Doric country where the Δυμᾶνες appeared), while the West Locrians seem to have used (perhaps better, *retained* from earlier times) a form which properly designated the inhabitants of the *pagus* rather than strictly only the citizens of the later town.

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LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH<sup>1</sup>

III

GAIUS IULIUS SEVERUS

17. (Fig. 1.) White marble block. Height 0.765 m.; width 0.45–0.43 m.; thickness 0.29 m.; letters 0.045–0.02 m. in height. Found in 1898. Place not known, now in Museum at Corinth.

Transcription:

*C (aium) Iulium Iuli(i) Quadrati [f(ilium)]*  
*[F] ab(ia tribu) Severum pr(aetorem) leg(atum)*  
*propr(aetore) prov(inciae) Asiae, leg(atum) leg(ionis)*  
*(quartae) Scythicae, proco(n)s(ulem) prov(inciae)*

5 *Ach(aiae), curionem, patronum,*  
*ob iustitiam et sanctitatem.*  
*[L?] Marius Piso q(uaestor) et praet(or)*  
*[hu?] ic sponte sua cum L(uciis)*  
*Mariis Floro Stlacciano*

10 *et Pisoni Resiano libe—*  
*ris suis.*  
*Pro tribu Maneia*  
*d(edit) d(edicavit)*

The face of the stone is considerably worn and in some places broken away.

Line 1. Only the last five letters now exist on the stone. The remainder of the line has been lost since the inscription was found and is now known from a photograph of the American School.

Line 7. There seems to be room for L before M.

Line 8. H may have been the first letter.

The inscription was executed in honor of Gaius Iulius Severus, the son of Iulius Quadratus and a member of the tribe Fabia. Severus held during his lifetime the following offices: praetor, legatus propraetore of the province of Asia, legatus of *legio IIII*

<sup>1</sup> See *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, pp. 189–197 and XXIII, 1919, pp. 163–174.

*Scythica*, and proconsul of the province of Achaia. To him are applied the words *curio* and *patronus*. The former word is not infrequent in the inscriptions (see *curio* in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*) and seems to refer to priestly functions discharged, perhaps, in behalf of the

tribe Maneia. It is not improbable that the word *patronus* also concerns his relationship with this tribe. (See *A.J.A.* XXIII, 1919, p. 167.)

A man named C. Iulius Severus of the tribe Fabia who held some offices identical with those mentioned above is known from four inscriptions in Greek found at Ancyra. The earliest one of the group was cut after 114-115 A.D. (*Insc. Gr. ad Res Rom. Pert. III*, 173 = Dittenberger, *Orient. Gr. Insc.* No. 544). On this stone the name is incomplete and no offices are given. A second inscription (*I.G. a. R.R.* p. III, 174 = Dittenberger, *op. cit.* No. 543) preserves the name Γ. Ι. Σεουήρος

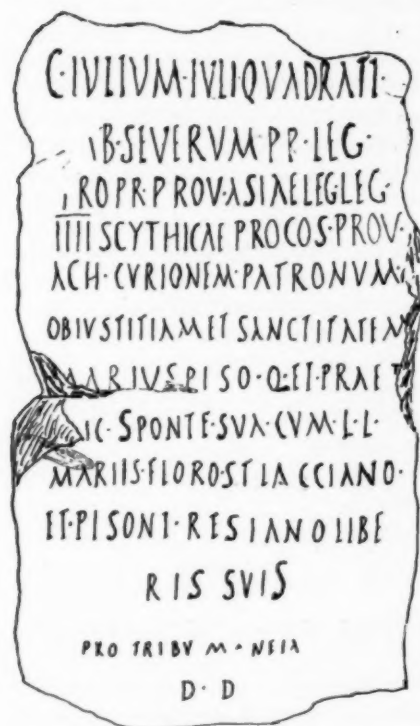


FIGURE 1.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH,  
No. 17.

(corrected by Dittenberger from Τ. Σεουήρος). To the name are added offices held during the reign of Hadrian, ἡγεμὼν of *legio IIII Scythica* and ἀνθύπατος of Achaia. There follows the mention of other offices not recorded on the stone at Corinth.

A third inscription (*I.G. a. R.R.* p. III, 175 = *C.I.G.* 4034) contains the same name and offices with the addition of ἀνθύπατος

of Asia, an honor held in 153-4 A.D. in all probability. A fourth inscription (*I.G. a. R.R.* p. III, 172 = *C.I.G.* 4029) belongs to the year 155 A.D. Here the complete name is given, C. Iulius Severus, the son of Gaius, of the tribe Fabia. This man was *χιλίαρχος* of the legion already mentioned and held other offices not recorded on the stone at Corinth.

In this group of inscriptions, then, there are striking similarities in names and offices to those of our inscription, but the evidence is not sufficient to prove the identity of the Severus mentioned in them with the Severus of Corinth. None of inscriptions from Ancyra records any mention of Iulius Quadratus or lists the propraetorship of Asia among the offices. It is possible that the Severus of Corinth was connected with the family honored at Ancyra, but the present evidence is scarcely strong enough to warrant any definite statement to that effect. It is not unlikely that our inscription was set up in the latter half of the second century after Christ. The style of the letters points in that direction.

The stone was erected by L. Marius Piso with his sons L. Marius Florus Stlaccianus and L. Marius Piso Resianus acting in behalf of the tribe Maneia. The cognomen Stlaccianus is formed from the nomen Stlaccius and the ending *-anus*. The nomen Stlaccius has been found on several stones at Rome (*C.I.L.* VI, 26863-26877). The cognomen Resianus is formed by adding the ending *-anus* to a Greek stem *Ρησι-*. Such combinations are not infrequent, *e.g.*, Eutybianus. The tribe Maneia was one of the local tribal divisions at Corinth, formed after the reorganization of the city as a Roman *colonia* (*A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, pp. 195-6).

18. White marble block. Height 0.26 m.; width 0.25 m.; thickness 0.115 m. A portion of the left side original. Face worn. Letters 0.025 in height. Found, June, 1915, southeast of Pirene.

Transcription:

. . . p|r(aetorem), leg(atum) [propr(aetore)  
 prov(inciae) A]siae, le [g(atum) leg(ionis)  
 . . . p]roco(n)s(ulem)prov(inciae) [Achaiae  
 . . . patr]onum

A comparison of this fragment with lines 2-5 of No. 17 above will show the same succession of offices, and there can be little doubt that this was another inscription dedicated to Iulius Severus. For this reason the transcription has preserved the accusative case in *praetorem*, etc.

#### TITUS MANLIUS IUVENCUS

19. Blue veined marble slab. Height 0.51 m.; width 0.365 m.; thickness 0.07 m. All original surfaces preserved. Letters 0.062-0.025 m. in height. Found June 27, 1907, place not known.

##### Transcription:

*T(ito) Manlio  
T(iti) f(ilio) Col(lina tribu) Iuenco  
aed(ili) praef(ecto) i(ure) d(icundo)  
IIvir(o) pontif(ici)  
agonothet(ico) Isthm(ion)  
et Caesareon  
qui primus Caesa-  
rea egit ante Isthmia.  
Hieromnemon(es) f(ecerunt).*

Titus Manlius Iuencus was a son of Titus and belonged to the tribe Collina. He held the offices of aedile, *praefectus iure dicundo*, duumvir, and pontifex, doubtless at Corinth. He was *agonothete* of the Isthmian and Caesarean games. We learn from this stone that this was the original order and that Manlius was the first to hold the Caesarean before the Isthmian games. Since there is no mention of the Neronean games the inscription may have been cut before their institution.

The stone was erected by the *hieromnemes*. No other mention of these officials at Corinth during the Roman occupation has been found. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Hieromnemes*. For instances of a *praefectus iure dicundo* in towns in the eastern portion of the Roman empire see C.I.L. III, Index p. 2552 s.v.

#### PUBLIUS MEMMIUS REGULUS

20. (Fig. 2.) White marble slab. Height 0.93 m.; width 0.40 m.; thickness 0.06 m. Right side broken away considerably and left side badly damaged. Found April 10, 1901. Much



worn, "used, face up, in repair of pavement of lower landing in Roman approach to Propylea." (R. B.) R. The photograph shows two more fragments of the lower portion of the stone which I have not seen. They would increase the height and width noted above. Letters 0.085-0.035 m.in height.

Transcription:

*P(ublio) Memm[io P(ublii) f(ilio)*  
*. . . Regulo . . .*  
*. . . epul(onum) sodali [August(al)i]?*  
*. . . fratri Arvali [leg(ato)*  
*. . . Caesaris Augu[st]i i G[ermanici]*  
*pro[v(inciae) Achaiae]*

Traces of letters, in two more lines, but too indistinct to be read.

The name Publius Memmius Regulus is known to us from references in literature and from inscriptions. (See *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*.) This inscription seems clearly to refer to the same man as the others. He was consul suffectus in the year 31 A.D. *ex Kal. Oct.*; succeeded Poppaeus Sabinus in the administration of Achaia, Macedonia, and Moesia as propraetor in 35; accompanied his wife to Rome under Gaius; returned to Achaia before the death of Gaius in 41 and was there under Claudius. Memmius was elected to the priesthood of the Arval brothers in 38 and member until 60. In the year 55 at Rome he was the *pro-magister fratrum Arvalium*. His death occurred in the year 61 A.D. Inscriptions in honor of Memmius Regulus were erected at Athens (*C.I.A.* III, 613, cf. 614-17), at Megara (*I.G.* VII, 87), at Olympia (*Arch. Zeit.* 1877, p. 191), and at Delos (*B.C.H.* 3, p. 158) in Greek. Latin inscriptions outside of Rome have been found at Salonae (*C.I.L.* III, 2028-8753) and Pergamum (*C.I.L.* III, 7090) dedicated to him.

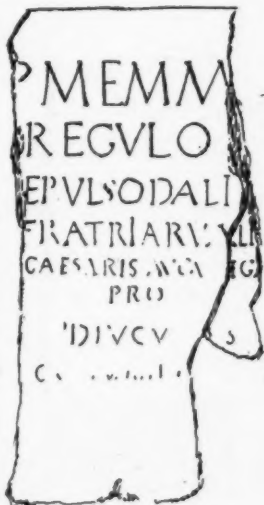


FIGURE 2.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, NO. 20.

As to the date of this inscription, it seems certain that it belongs to the reign of Claudius from the form of the title in line 5, and it may have been set up before 47, because in that year Memmius became proconsul of Asia. This stone evidently contained a complete list of all his offices up to the time when it was made and if we possessed it in its original state the date could be determined with more accuracy.

## LUCIUS PAPIUS LUPERCUS

21. (Fig. 3.) Bluish marble basis. Right side cut away. Height 0.93 m.; width 0.295 m.; thickness 0.625 m. Back rough.

Found May 4, 1901, west end of third step of Byzantine approach to Propylea (R. B.) R. Letters 0.042-0.03 m. in height.

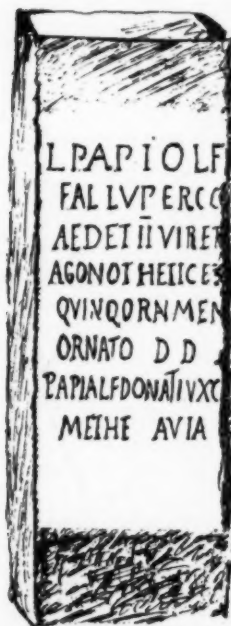


FIGURE 3.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 21.

## Transcription:

*L(ucio) Papio L(ucii) f(ilio)*

*Fal(erna tribu) Luperco*

*aed(ili) IIvir(o) et*

*agonothetic(o) et*

5 *quinq(uennaliciis) ornamen(tis)*

*ornato d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

*L(ucia)Papia L(ucii) f(ilia) Donati*

*Methe Avia. [uxor]*

L. Papius Lupercus, known only from this inscription, was a local official at Corinth. He was aedile, duumvir, giver of the games, and the *decuriones* bestowed upon him the *quinquennalicia ornamenta*. His daughter Papia, the wife of Donatus, set up the stone. The meaning of the last two words is rather obscure. Methe and Avia may possibly be the names of slaves or freed women of his household. The former is evidently a Greek word. For similar names cf. Canthara, Ampelisca.

The date of the inscription is uncertain, but from the form of the letters it probably belongs to the first century after Christ.

## CALLICRATEA

22. (Fig. 4.) Basis of limestone from Aerocorinth. Height 0.715 m.; width 0.525 m.; thickness 0.42 m. Found May 8, 1901 "near St. John Theologos near βράχος" (R. B.) R. Letters 0.065–0.03 m. in height.

## Transcription:

*Callicrateae*  
*Philesi fil(iae)*  
*sacerdoti in perpet(uum)*  
*Providentiae Aug(usti)*  
*et Salutis Publicae*  
*Tribules tribus Agrippae*  
*bene meritae.*

This, with the following inscriptions, affords a little information about the presence

CALLICRATEAE  
 PHILESI·FIL·  
 SACERDOTI·INPERPET·  
 PROVIDENTIAE·AVG·  
 ET·SALVTIS·PVBLICAE·  
 TRIBVLES·TRIBVS·AGRIPPAE·  
 BENE·MERITAE·

FIGURE 4.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 22.

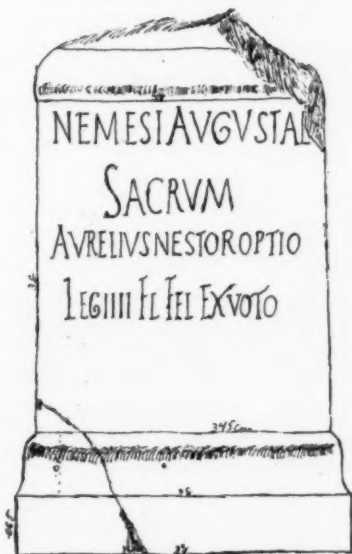


FIGURE 5.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 23.

of certain Roman cults at Corinth. The worship of Providentia Augusti and Salus Publica were combined, and the Greek woman Callicratea was priestess for life. The tribe Agrippa (A.J.A. XXII, 1918, p. 196), evidently named from M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, was one of the new divisions of the city after the reorganization under Augustus. For a dedication to Agrippa see A.J.A. XXIII, 1919, p. 167.

23. (Fig. 5.) White marble block. Height 0.62 m.;

width of inscribed face 0.33–0.345 m.; thickness 0.297 m. Surfaces roughly tooled. Found May, 1915, southeast of Pirene. Letters 0.06–0.037 m. in height and carelessly cut.

Transcription:

*Nemesi Augustae  
sacrum  
Aurelius Nestor optio  
leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) fel(icis) ex voto.*

The inscription needs no extended comment. Nemesis is here, doubtless, to be identified with Fortuna, as is the case elsewhere in inscriptions. This form of dedication is not frequent. From the name of the legion we gain our only clue about the date of the stone. In all probability it was cut in the first half of the second century after Christ.

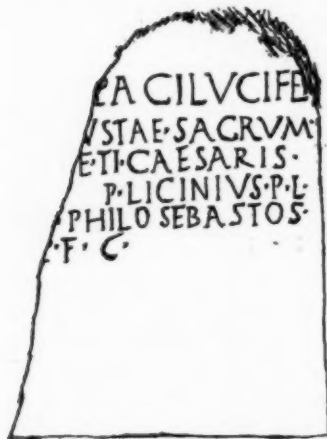


FIGURE 6.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 25.

24. Block of limestone from Acrocorinth. Height 0.77 m.; width 0.53 m.; thickness 0.43 m. Found June 15, 1907, in the agora. Letters 0.08–0.05 in height. Dowel hole sunk in top surface of the block.

Transcription:

*Victoriae  
sacrum*

25. (Fig. 6.) Broken basis of limestone from Acrocorinth. Height 0.90 m.; width (maximum at bottom of stone) 0.47 m., at line 5, 0.35 m.; thickness 0.40 m. Found June 14, 1907, in an early Byzantine wall founded on a late Roman pavement east of St. John's. Letters 0.035–0.025 m. in height.

Transcription:

*. . . Paci lucife  
ri . . . Aug[ustae] sacrum  
. . . e Ti(berii) Caesaris*

- 5 *P(ublius) Licinius P(ublii) l(ibertus)*  
*. . Philo Sebastos*  
*P? f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

Whether this inscription is a dedication to *Pax lucifer* or to some other divinity with the attribute of *pax lucifer* cannot now be determined. The interpretation of line 3 is likewise not solved. A Greek freedman erected the stone, perhaps in the reign of Tiberius.

26. (Fig. 7.) Nine fragments of marble revetment slab. Top and right side original surfaces. Length at top 0.92 m.; thickness 0.02 m.; letters 0.081

m., well cut. Under the letters GV the stone is blackened by fire. Top of separate fragment similarly discolored.



FIGURE 7.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 26.

Transcription:

. . . ?La]ribus Augustis  
 . . . . . au .  
 . . . . . ?ns f . .

The cult of Lares Augusti is already well known from inscriptions (Wissowa, *Religionen und Kultus der Roemer*, 2 Aufl. p. 172) and this restoration here seems very probable. Compare No. 36.

27. (Fig. 8.) Section of a marble cornice now broken into five pieces. Height 0.12 m.; height of inscribed face 0.065 m.;



FIGURE 8.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 27.

length, measured on inscribed face, 1.05 m. Found April 4, 1902, about seven metres west of the first column of the South Stoa. Letters 0.035 m. in height, not very well cut.

Transcription:

*Liberti qui Corinthi habitan[t] . . . . .*

For the form of the inscription see Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* *Conventus*, where epigraphical evidence is reproduced. In some instances on the stones *liberti* are recorded as members of these organizations. No *conventus* composed entirely of *liberti* is mentioned. Judging solely from the phrasing of the inscription, however, we may infer that there was in Corinth an organization of *liberti* similar to the *conventus* formed by Roman citizens in other parts of the Empire. As we are told that Corinth was reestablished partly by freedmen sent by Julius Caesar, it may



FIGURE 9.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 28.

be that a *conventus* was formed at the time of their arrival. Since freedmen were usually made citizens in the new *colonia* where they were sent, we should be forced to suppose that in this instance they were not so honored. Of course, this stone has no indication of its date, and the inscription may belong to the first century of our era. The style of the letters would tend to place it in the first half of the century. The cutting of the letters resembles the work of a novice. Concerning the original

purpose of the stone we can say that it formed a part of the building where the *conventus* (?) of *liberti* held its meeting or adorned some monument or altar, while the inscription recorded a common action of the *liberti* as a body.

28. (Fig. 9.) White marble block. Height 0.41 m.; width 0.30 m.; thickness, below moulding 0.17 m. Back side rough. Found May 19, 1915, east of Pirene. Letters 0.055–0.035 in height and very well cut. (See *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 254.)

Transcription:

..... August[o?] .....  
 ..... Cn. Cn. Cn .....  
 ..... Pius P(?)o/ .....  
 ..... .....

The stone was evidently a dedication to an emperor, very likely to Augustus. No solution of the second line is forthcoming. It is impossible to estimate the original length of the inscription.

29. (Fig. 10.) White marble block. Height (broken at top) 0.61 m.; width at bottom 0.27 m.; thickness 0.255 m. Found May, 1915, east of Pirene. Letters 0.055-0.035 m., and well cut.

Transcription:

*L(ucius) Q.* . . . . .  
*Augus.* . . . . .  
*Caesaris* . . . . .  
*Ti(berio?) Caesari* . . . . .  
*ex d(ecreto) [d(ecurionum)]*

The stone when complete probably carried an inscription enumerating the offices held under the early emperors by some provincial official stationed at Corinth.

30. (Fig. 11.) White marble slab. Height 0.443 m.; length (top) 0.22 m., (bottom) 0.585 m.; thickness 0.065 m. Back smooth. Found May, 1915, east of Pirene. Letters 0.055-0.04 m. in height and well cut.

Transcription:

*Tiberio Ani(n?)* . . . . .  
*Caesari Augu(sto)* . . . . .  
*Genti Augustae* . . . . .

Were it not for the last letters of line 1 it would be tempting to restore this inscription as a dedication to the Emperor Tiberius. With the remainder of this important line unknown and the length of the lines uncertain the original reading remains in doubt. (See *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, pp. 254-5.)

31. White marble slab, broken on all four sides, rear face roughly chiselled but original. Length 0.29 m.; width 0.235 m.;



FIGURE 10.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 29.

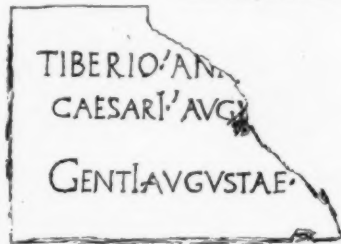


FIGURE 11.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 30.

thickness 0.062 m. Found May 4, 1914. Letters about 0.07 m., and deeply cut. Traces of two letters in second line.

Transcription:

. . . . . *Augus* . . . . .  
 . . . . . / / . . . . .  
 . . . . .

32. White marble slab. Height 0.18 m.; width 0.19 m.; thickness 0.072 m. Back smooth. Found April 17, 1902, opposite tenth Doric column of south stoa, 2.50 m. above stylobate. Only portions of letters preserved; their height would be about 0.09 m.

Transcription:

. . . . . *Aug* . . . . .  
 . . . . .

33. White marble slab. Height 0.21 m.; width 0.25 m.; thickness 0.06 m. Found 1905, early spring, in deep digging in North apse of Pirene. Letters 0.11 m. in height.

Transcription:

. . . . . *August* . . . . .  
 . . . . .

34. White marble slab. Height 0.30 m.; width 0.25 m.; thickness 0.082 m. Found May 22, 1903, in theatre trench. Letters 0.12 m.

Transcription:

. . . . . *Au[gusto* . . . . .  
 . . . . .

35. White marble slab. Height 0.17 m.; width 0.20 m.; thickness 0.07 m. Date and place of finding not known. Only upper portions of letters preserved.

Transcription:

. . . . . *Au[gu]sto* . . . . .  
 . . . . .

36. White marble slab. Height 0.195 m.; width 0.18 m.; thickness 0.03 m.; letters 0.08–0.06 m. in height.



Transcription:

. . . . . Au]gu[sto . . . . .  
 . . . . . Au[gusti . . . . .  
 . . . . . ns f . . . . .

Compare No. 26.

37. White marble slab. Height 0.20 m.; width 0.15 m.; thickness 0.04 m.; letters 0.075–0.06 m. in height and well cut.

Transcription:

. . . . . / / . . . . .  
 . . . . . usta(e) . . . . .  
 . . . . .

38. White marble slab. Height 0.29 m.; width 0.30 m.; thickness 0.07 m. Found March 22, 1902, place not known. Letters 0.075–0.065 in height.

Transcription:

. . . . . Ca]esari . . . . .  
 . . . . . /i Part[hici . . . . .  
 . . . . .

This is doubtless a fragment of a dedication to the Emperor Hadrian and should be restored, *Imp(eratori) Caesari*, etc.

*Divi Traiani Parthici f(ilio) etc.*

39. Fragment of white marble epistyle block. Length 0.60 m.; height 0.375 m.; thickness 0.125 m. Portion of bottom original. Letters 0.15 m. in height and well cut. Found June 2, 1903, in theatre trench.

Transcription:

. . . . . C]aesar[i . . . . .  
 . . . . .

40. White marble slab much weathered. Height 0.34 m.; width 0.40 m.; thickness 0.025 m.; letters 0.135–0.11 m., in height.

Transcription:

. . . . . Cae]sari . . . . .  
 . . . . . pon]tif(ici) m[aximo . . . . .

41. White marble slab. Height 0.095 m.; width 0.12 m.; thickness 0.02 m.; letters 0.04 m. in height.

## Transcription:

..... *Caesa[ri]* .....  
 .....

42. White marble fragment, top preserved with original surface. Height 0.07 m.; width 0.10 m.; thickness 0.08 m.; letters 0.047 m. in height.

## Transcription:

..... *Ca]esar[i]* .....  
 .....

43. White marble fragment. Height 0.07 m. width 0.14 m.; thickness 0.04 m.; letters 0.053 m. in height and poorly cut.

## Transcription:

..... *Ca]esa[ri]* .....  
 .....

44. White marble block. Height 0.21 m.; width 0.085 m.; thickness 0.17 m. Original left edge preserved. Letters 0.03 m. in height.

## Transcription:

.....  
*/emia?* .....  
*Caesa[ri]* .....  
*legio?* .....

45. White marble slab. Height 0.14 m.; width 0.26 m.; thickness 0.09 m. Found in 1900, place not known. Letters 0.04–0.035 m. in height.

## Transcription:

.....  
 ..... *Ge]rmanico* .....  
 ..... *i filio* .....  
 .....

The stone originally bore an inscription in honor of one of the emperors who had taken the agnomen Germanicus. Not enough of the inscription is given to permit its restoration.

46. Rectangular block of bluish marble used as step in Byzantine approach to Propylaea. Length 2.135 m.; height 0.515 m.;

width 0.448 m. Face very much worn. Found May 8, 1901. Letters 0.076 m. in height.

Transcription:

.....trib(unicia) pote[st(ate)] VIII imp(eratori) XIX.....  
.....-ranu[s].

The inscription in its original form contained a dedication to an emperor who had received the tribunician power for the ninth time and the title of imperator for the nineteenth time.

These conditions enable one to draw the conclusion that either Vespasian or Domitian was the emperor honored in the inscription. Vespasian held the tribunician power for the ninth year from July 1, 77 to July 1, 78. The title of imperator was bestowed upon him for the nineteenth time soon after April 15, 78 (Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.* vol. 6, p. 2671). These facts would place the inscription between April 15 and July 1, 78.

Domitian received tribunician power for the ninth time on September 14, 89. Between September 14, 89 and January 1, 90 he was hailed as imperator not only for the nineteenth time, but for the twentieth and twenty-first times. If Domitian be the emperor honored by the inscription it must have been cut soon after September 14, 89. The rapidity with which Domitian was given the title imperator in this short period would hardly make it possible for one stone to be erected before the title would be out of date. If a period of time of suitable length for the making and placing of an inscription as important as this one was (judging from the stone we have) be a determining factor in fixing the date, then the probabilities are in favor of regarding Vespasian as the emperor named in the lost portion.

The reading of the second line is not very clear. The letters seem to belong to the name of the dedicator.

47. (Fig. 12.) Limestone block. Height 0.415 m.; width 0.505 m.; thickness 0.36 m. Found December 18, 1914, west of schoolhouse.

Transcription:

*Faustinae*  
*Imp(eratoris) T(iti) Aeli Hadriani*  
*Antonini Caesaris*  
*Aug(usti)]Pii d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) pec(uniae) pub(licae)*

The inscription is a dedication to Faustina. Whether the Faustina named was the wife or the daughter of Antoninus Pius is not easy to determine. Faustina, known as the Elder, was married to Antoninus Pius between 110 and 115 A.D. He was adopted by Hadrian on February 25, 138. On July 10, 138 he succeeded his adoptive father. At this time Faustina received the title Augusta along with her husband. His official name appears on the stones thereafter with the title Augustus and the added cognomen Pius in the order given in the inscription at Corinth. After the death of Faustina between December 10, 140 and July 1, 141 A.D. she is referred to as *diva*.

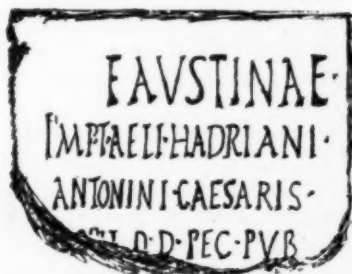


FIGURE 12.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 47.

Inasmuch as the appellation *diva* is wanting in this inscription we are probably justified in assigning it to the period before 141 A.D. But what is to be said concerning the omission of the title Augusta? Since her husband is referred to as imperator the inscription could not have been cut before the year 138. (It is

not certain whether we should restore AVG as the first three letters of line 4. The tops of the letters PII seem very certain. At the left of P the top of some letter can be made out. I believe it to be G.) Inscriptions referring to Faustina without either Augusta or Diva when the name of Antoninus Pius is given are extremely rare, in fact, no parallel to the present form has been found in Latin.

Shall we then conclude that the stone does honor to Faustina the Younger, daughter of Antoninus and Faustina? The younger Faustina received the title Augusta in 147 A.D. All the inscriptions giving her name before this date are explicit in indicating her relationship as daughter, evidently to prevent any confusion because of the identity of names between mother and daughter. Apparently no such indication is to be found on this stone. We seem to have the inscription complete. It is not impossible, then, that this inscription refers to Faustina the Elder, and may have been set up during the first months of her husband's reign. One

Greek inscription may be presented to illustrate the omission of titles with the name Faustina.

Dittenberger and Purgold, *Inscriben von Olympien*, 613-616, quoted in Dessau, *Inscriptiones Selectae*, 8803a: Φαυστείναν αὐτοκράτορος//Ἀντωνείνου Εὐσεβοῦς γυναῖκα[α//Ἡρώδης]. The editor adds *Faustina maior, ei defunctae a. 140 vel 141. multo antequam hi tituli ponerentur divae vocabulum non addi sane mirum*. The stone was found in the exedra of Herodes Atticus at Olympia. It is, perhaps, worthy of note in passing that up to the time of the publication of the last fascicle of *C.I.L.* III (1903) no certain inscription mentioning Faustina the Elder had been found in the territory of which the inscriptions are included in that volume.

48. (Fig. 13.) Fourteen fragments of a white marble slab. Height 0.38 m.; width of original slab uncertain; thickness at top



FIGURE 13.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 48.

0.015, at bottom, 0.02. Moulding on back. Letters not very well cut. Date and place of finding not known.

Transcription:

*Impera[tor]i Caesari C(aio) Aur(elio) Val(erio) ?D[iocle]tiano P(io)  
F(elici) In(victo) Aug(usto)  
?(ibens) v(otum) s(olvit) i(?)u(ssu) L(ucius) Paulus o d / / / . .  
..iae d . . . . .*

The stone has been broken so many times and so much is now lacking that a restoration of anything more than the first line is out of the question. There can be no reasonable doubt that we have a dedication to the Emperor Diocletian. To fix the date more closely or to learn the reason for the inscription is no longer possible.

49. (Fig. 14.) Nine fragments of a white marble slab very similar to No. 48 in appearance and style of letters. Because of the difficulty of taking satisfactory measurements none were

recorded. The approximate size of this inscription may be inferred by a comparison of Figures 13 and 14.

Transcription:

*Fo(r)tissimo a d o v e?*.....  
*Maximiano*.....  
 ...../ / / /.....  
*Gale(rio)*.....  
 / / / *CS Paulus*.....

The abbreviation of line 1 may perhaps stand for the words *Augusto domino orbis Valerio*, etc. When complete the inscription



FIGURE 14.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH,  
No. 49.

nal surfaces preserved at top and left side. Found May 7, 1896, place not known. Letters 0.073–0.067 m. in height.

Transcription:

*Reparatori religionis  
 aeternae [et propagatori humani  
 generis d(omino) n(ostro) [Theodosio*

may have done honor to the four emperors Diocletian, Maximian, Flavius Constantius, and Galerius. The appearance of the name Paulus, doubtless that of the man who erected the stone, in this inscription and in the preceding and the similarity in appearance already referred to make plausible the supposition that both inscriptions were cut at about the same time.

50. White marble slab. Height 0.60 m.; width 0.69 m.; thickness 0.135 m. Original

*felicissimo et* .....  
*Arcadio et H[onorio]*  
 .....-tius Ac?.....

51. Fragment of a bluish marble block. Portion of original surface preserved at bottom with dowel hole in centre. Thickness 0.28 m. Found October, 1914, southeast of Pirene. Letters 0.03 m. in height, poorly cut.

Transcription:

.....a?n/ /.....  
 .....-ae in perpetu[um].....  
 .....Caesareo]n Nervaneon Trai[aneon].....  
 .....et Isthmio]n et Caesareon et Aescu[lapion  
 .....Co]rinth(i) patron(o)

Part of a late inscription honoring some Corinthian who had performed his duty as a generous giver of the games.

52. Block of bluish scaly marble. Height 0.57 m.; width 0.525 m.; thickness 0.35 m. Found 1896, place not known. Letters 0.38-0.03 m. in height except letter 'b', which has vertical line carried above the others, and measures 0.08 m.

The similarity of this inscription to the preceding is apparent. This stone was erected by the members of the tribe Aurelia. (See *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, pp. 195 f.)

From the form of the letters (a 'small' *b* is used) the inscription is probably not earlier than the third century after Christ.

Transcription:

.....Isthmi]on et Caesareon  
 tribuleꝝ tribus  
 Aureliae

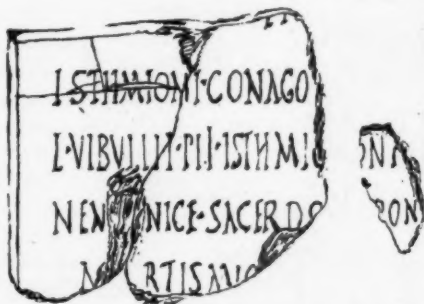


FIGURE 15.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 53.



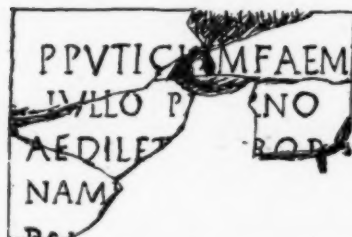
53. (Fig. 15.) White marble slab in five pieces. Height 0.245 m.; width 0.27 m.; thickness 0.055 m. The small fragment seems to belong to this inscription but with a slight lacuna. Found April 17 and 22, 1902, on Temple hill northeast of Boudroumi, at a depth of one metre.

Transcription:

.....//.....  
*Isthmionicon ago[no]thetac*.....  
*L(uci) Vibullii Pii Isthmio*.../n/.....  
*nen*.....*nice sacerdotis?*.....*ren*.....  
*n?*.....*rtismio*.....

For a Vibullius at Corinth see *C.I.L.* III, 5434. What connection he had with the present inscription is not certain from this fragment.

54. (Fig. 16.) White marble slab in five fragments. Original surfaces preserved at sides and top. Width 0.52 m.; thickness 0.225 m. Found June, 1910, in peribolos of Apollo. Letters 0.043 m. in height and very carefully cut.



Transcription:

*P(ublio) Puticio M(arci)*  
*f(ilio) Aem(ilia tribu)*  
*Iullo Pa[te]rno*  
*aedil(i) et [IIvi]r(o) q[ui]r-*  
*name(nte)*.....  
 //.....

FIGURE 16.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 54.



FIGURE 17.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 55.

The name Puticius is already known from an inscription found on Acrocorinth, *C.I.L.* III, 542. There we find a P. Puticius Secundus and P. Puticius Ac——. That they belonged to the local nobility of Corinth in the first century is all that one can say concerning them.

55. (Fig. 17.) White marble slab. Height 0.32 m.; width 0.25 m.; thickness 0.115 m. Found October 30, 1914, southeast of Pirene.

## Transcription:

*L(ucio) Gellio*  
*Mena]ndri*  
*L(ucio) Gellio] Iusto*  
 .....-ii agonoth-  
*etae* .....  
 .....

The transcription gives a restoration based on *C.I.L.* III, 501 = 7269. That inscription is a dedication at Corinth to Antoninus Pius erected in 139 A.D., by L. Gellius Menander and L.



FIGURE 18.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 56, FRAGS. 1 AND 2.

Gellius Iustus. These names are also recorded in Greek inscriptions from Corinth (*A.J.A.* VII, 1903, pp. 51-52. = *I.G.* IV, 1601). In the name of Iustus the praenomen is given as A but the possibility of reading Λ is admitted. The evidence of the Latin inscription cited from the *Corpus* makes very probable the latter reading. The Greek inscriptions above mentioned are dedications to a Cn. Cornelius Pulcher. The inference that he received this honor about 139 A.D. seems justified. This evidence is useful also for dating *I.G.* IV, 795 and 1600 (found at Corinth and Troezen) which enumerate the offices held by Pulcher.

56. (Figs. 18 and 19.) Three fragments of a marble epistyle. Sections 1 and 2 join to make the original shape complete. Length 2.03 m.; height 0.52 m.; thickness (back cut away) 0.42 m. Mouldings at top and bottom of outer surface cut away. Section 1 found May, 1915, south of Pirene. Section 2 found May, 1896, place uncertain. Section 3 is a por-



FIGURE 19.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 56, FRAG. 3.

tion of the same inscription with the mouldings preserved. Length 0.75 m. Found May, 1915, not far from section 1. Letters 0.10 m. in height and very well cut.

Transcription:

.....-ir pont(ifex)..... et porticum coloni.....

The inscription in its original form contained the name of the man who had caused to be erected some prominent buildings near

the southeast entrance to the Agora. The name of this man is wholly gone, and we have only a mention of the offices which he held. The word *et* at the beginning of the next stone would lead us to suppose that mention had already been made of some other building for which this individual was responsible. The word *porticum* without much doubt refers to the structure of which this block formed a portion of the epistyle. A description of it will form a part of the report of the excavations of 1915.

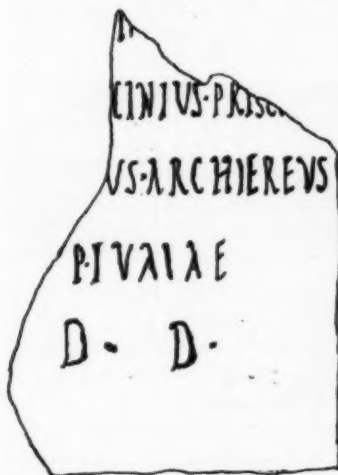


FIGURE 20.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 58.

57. Eleven fragments of an inscription on the marble blocks which formed an Ionic architrave in the peribolos of Apollo. The letters are 0.11 m. in height. Only three of the fragments can be fitted together. The letters found are as follows:

IUS. TI. F. AEM, ALIS (wreath) ETM, I C V, E, B, O, C F, OS, X.

The portion given first above may be transcribed:

-ius Ti(berii) f(ilius) Aem(ilia tribu)

Nothing further can be made from these fragments. The inscription was evidently of considerable length.

58. (Fig. 20.) White marble block. Height 0.46 m.; width 0.32 m.; thickness 0.17 m. Date and place of finding not known. Letters 0.05–0.045 m. in height.

## Transcription:

.....  
 ..... / / .....  
 ..... *P(ublius) L[icinius] Priscu(s)* .....  
 ..... *Iuventian?]*us Archiereus .....  
 ..... *P. Iuliae?* .....  
 ..... *d(edit) d(edicavit)* .....

The name has been restored from *I.G. IV*, 202-203, which was found on the Isthmus. Nothing further is known of the person named.

59. (Fig. 21.) White marble slab. Length 0.38 m.; height 0.15 m.; thickness 0.06 m. Found November 16, 1914, southeast of Pirene.

## Transcription:

.....-*nique genio*.....  
 .... *Caesa]rum l(audis) I(uliae) C(orin-*  
*thi) sacrum a*.....  
 .....*or]nament(a) decurio[alia)*.....

The restoration of the first line is uncertain. The correct solution must not only discover the word which ended in the letters *-ni*, but supply another to justify the use of *-que*. The *Caesarum* of line two seems a reasonable conjecture.



FIGURE 21.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 59.

60. (Fig. 22.) White marble slab. Height 0.53 m.; width (maximum) 0.14 m.; thickness 0.11 m. Found May, 1915, southeast of Pirene. Letters 0.055-0.035 m. in height.

## Transcription:

.....*mi*/.....  
 ..... *I]sthmi*.....  
 ..... *I]vir*/.....  
 ..... *r dec*.....  
 ..... *gio ite*.....  
 ..... *bend*.....  
 ..... *m*.....  
 ..... *us*.....

None of the lines yields enough letters to make certain any satisfactory explanation of the words. When complete the inscription was a dedication in honor of some local magistrate.

61. (Fig. 23.) White marble slab. Length 0.315 m.; height 0.195 m.; thickness 0.035 m. Found May, 1915, southeast of Pirene. Letters 0.05–0.043 m. in height.

Transcription:

.....*Colon]iae Lau[d(is) Iuliae Corinth(i)...*  
 ...../t Stat.....  
 .....u/a/.....

In line 1 traces of the N of *Coloniae* and of the D of *Laudis* are visible. This fragment may belong to a very interesting inscription containing information regarding the government of Corinth by the Romans.



FIGURE 22.—LATIN INSCRIPTION  
FROM CORINTH, No. 60.

62. White marble slab. Height 0.25 m.; width 0.31 m.; thickness 0.085 m. Date and place of finding not known. Letters 0.045 m. in height.

Transcription:

*M(quius) Aciliu[s].....*  
*inea loc.....*

The name in line 1 has been restored as Manius because of the fact that the only Acilius known hitherto from Corinth bore that praenomen. (On a Corinthian coin, Cohen, Vol. I, page 273.) The Manius Acilius attested by the coin was *duumvir* about 50 A.D. There is nothing on the stone which makes the identification unreasonable.

63. Bluish marble base, right side and part of left face cut away. Moulding at base originally on three sides, now cut or broken away. Height of stone 0.275 m.; width 0.445 m.; thick-

ness 0.32 m. Found 1901 in west buttress of Propylaea. Letters 0.045–0.042 m. in height.

Transcription:

?C]lodi[s. ....  
Concordia/.....

64. White marble slab, much weathered and discolored. Height 0.222 m.; width 0.298 m.; thickness 0.025 m. Date and place of finding not known. Letters 0.043–0.03 m. in height.

Transcription:

*Clodia Polla*  
*sibi et*  
*Clodia(e) D ractice?*  
*...et liberis suis.*



FIGURE 23.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 61

The letters at end of lines 3 and 4 are very faint.

65. White marble fragment. Height 0.045 m.; Width 0.115 m.; thickness 0.03 m. Only lower portions of letters preserved.

Transcription:

.....Cl]odia.....

66. White marble slab. Height 0.37 m.; width 0.355 m.; thickness 0.12 m. Date and place of finding not known. Letters 0.09–0.057 m. in height.

Transcription:

*Secun[dus....*  
*...nus Q CO..*  
*.....e.../..*

67. White marble slab. Height 0.10 m.; width 0.293 m.; thickness 0.09 m. Found 1898 place not known. Only upper portion of letters preserved.

Transcription:

*Secu[ndus.....*

68. White marble slab. Height 0.135 m.; width 0.18 m.; thickness 0.025 m. Date and place of finding not known. Letters 0.02 m. in height.

## Transcription:

... / / / / / ...  
*Fusissima* / .....  
*nam et* / *ir* .....  
*munif* .....

69. Two fragments of white marble. Part of original right side preserved. Other sides broken. Thickness 0.125 m. Found October, 1914, southeast of Pirene. Letters 0.047-3 m. in height and poorly cut.

## Transcription:

..... / / / .....  
 .....-*i IIII vir*  
 .....-*storem*  
 .....-/*rotam*  
 .....?*i vir*  
 ....S]aturni fac(iendum)  
 .....[*cur(avit)*]

70. White marble slab. Height 0.20 m.; width 0.145 m.; thickness 0.033 m. Back rough. Found May, 1904. Letters 0.032-0.26 m. in height.

## Transcription:

*Aurel*[*io* .....  
*Maxim*[*o* .....  
*Aurel*[*io* .....  
*A]urellius?* ....

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## ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS<sup>1</sup>

### SUMMARIES OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES CHIEFLY IN CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

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#### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**The Development of the Theory of Proportion.**—In *Mh. f. Kunstw.* XV, 1921, pp. 188-219 (2 pls.; 10 figs.), E. PANOFSKY discusses the theories of proportion in succeeding historical periods in their relationship to the artistic attitude of the times. For example, the Egyptian artist's mechanical theory of proportion was due to his ignoring three facts, viz., that any movement of an organic body changes that body throughout and not merely the surface; that the artist sees the object foreshortened; and that the spectator sees the artist's representation foreshortened. All these facts were recognized by the Greek. Hence, he could not form an independent system of proportion that left the artist no freedom of variation. It is for this reason that, from the works of art, we are much less able to judge of the Greek's theory of proportion than of the Egyptian's. The more the subjective element was allowed to enter into art, the more, naturally, was the significance of theories of proportion crowded out. The last of their real significance came with the Renaissance in Italy. Problems of light and shade, of color, and of expression have usurped their place in later art.

**Computing Jetons.**—An address on the history of methods of computation, recently delivered by Professor DAVID E. SMITH before the American Numismatic Society, has been printed. After a brief discussion of the necessity for aids in reckoning, the primitive forms of the abacus are described: the dust abacus, the line abacus, exemplified by the one found at Salamis, the Roman calculi, the various forms of abacus used in the Far East. The abacus of Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II) is also described; and various modern forms of the abacus are illustrated from early printed text books. Finally there is a brief discussion of the history of minted jetons. These had no prolonged use in Italy, where the abacus was early superseded by Arabic notation. They continued in use for some time in Northern Europe, and were stamped extensively in Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even after the close

<sup>1</sup> The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor DEANE, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor SAMUEL E. BASSETT, Professor C. N. BROWN, Miss MARY H. BUCKINGHAM, Dr. T. A. BUENGER, Professor ELMER T. MERRILL, Professor JOHN C. ROLFE, Dr. JOHN SHAPLEV, Professor A. L. WHEELER and the Editors, especially Professor BATES and Professor PATON.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after June 30, 1922.

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see pp. 129-130.

of the seventeenth they were manufactured for gaming purposes. [*Computing Jetons*, by DAVID EUGENE SMITH, *Num. Not.*, No. 9. New York, 1921, American Numismatic Society. 70 pp.; 3 pls.; 22 figs. 16mo.]

**Epigraphic Bulletin.**—In their 'Revue des Publications épigraphiques relatives à l'Antiquité romaine' for 1921 (*R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIV, 1921, pp. 449-483), R. CAGNAT and M. BESNIER give the text of 97 inscriptions (21 Greek, the rest Latin), with bibliographical notes and references to epigraphic publications. A classified index is appended (pp. 484-492).

**The Photographing of Palimpsests.**—P. R. KÖGEL describes the process and results of photographing palimpsests with the use of ultra-violet rays. "The textual results of fluorescence photography exceed those of earlier processes by fifty per cent." (*Sitzb. Ber. Akad.* 1914, pp. 974-978.)

**The "Bird of Venus."**—In a recent dissertation GEORGE R. THROOP shows that the sparrow was originally more closely associated with Aphrodite than any other bird, and that this association persisted, although partially obscured by the connection of doves and other birds with the goddess. The evidence for Mr. Throop's thesis is mainly literary. Sparrows are not often represented with Aphrodite in works of art. (*Washington University Studies*, IX, Humanistic Series, No. 2, pp. 275-291.)

**Thracian Archaeology.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XV, 1922, pp. 46-78, GEORGES SEURE continues his series of articles on unpublished or little-known Thracian monuments. In this article he describes 17 silver paterae (*coupes*) of the so-called omphalos type (No. 186), three bulging silver vases (No. 187), a silver aryballus (No. 188), and gives a list, with bibliographical references, of 161 bronze statuettes of Thracian *provenance*, which have been already studied and reproduced. The tumuli at Brézovo, Panaghiourichte, and Alexandrovo, in which seven of the omphalos paterae were found, are described, with their contents, in detail. The ten paterae found at Radovene were not in a tumulus. These paterae all belong to a time extending from the latter part of the fifth to the early part of the third century B.C. One bears an inscription, *Κόττος Έγγηστόν*, in letters of the fifth century. These vessels are of Greek manufacture and thus testify to trade relations of Thrace and Greece. They are found in the tumuli near the right hand of the deceased, which points to Greek influence upon the burial customs of the Thracian dynasts. The Thracian bronzes are in part imported, in part made by local artisans. They have not the genuinely Thracian qualities of the reliefs in stone, and whatever their value for the study of Roman civilization, they will never teach us much about the civilization of Thrace.

**The Work of Oscar Montelius.**—BERNHARD SALIN is the author of a biographical sketch of the late Professor Montelius, accompanied by an appreciation of his distinguished service to archaeology. With it is published an exhaustive bibliography of Montelius' publications, prepared by GUNNAR ECKHOLM. (*Minnesteckning över Oscar Montelius av Bernhard Salin; Bibliographia Monteliana uprättad av Gunnar Eckholm.* Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien Handlingar, XXXIV, third series, I, 1 and 2, Stockholm, 1922, Wahlström. 44, 43 pp.; pl. 8vo.)

**Arabic Inscriptions.**—An analytic study of bands of Arabic inscriptions in relief, employed as architectural ornament at Amida-Diarbekr, has been made by S. FLURY. (*Syria*, I, 1920, pp. 235-249, 318-328; II, 1921, pp. 54-62; 14

pls.) The plaited form of the Cufic characters in these inscriptions is derived from the East: it is found near the Caspian Sea as early as 1016 A.D. The migration of this form of letter from east to west is due to the Seljuk conquest. M. Flury inclines to the belief that this style of writing was the invention of one of the nomad tribes converted to Islam, and not an ancient Arabic form adopted by the nomads in their westward march.

**Mohammedan Aesthetics.**—The methods of artistic expression among the peoples of Islam are the subject of a recent essay by LOUIS MASSIGNON. Although there is no absolute prohibition of imitative or representative art, the scope of such art is restricted by the dogma according to which the visible world is the mechanical creation of God, and its phenomena transitory and unreal. Only the Creator has an enduring existence, hence there is a reluctance to give even a seeming completeness or permanence to the representation of any phenomena of the natural world. The application of this principle to the design of architectural ornament, rugs, and tapestries, and to landscape gardening as well as to Arabic poetry and music, is discussed. (*Syria*, II, 1921, pp. 47-53, 149-160.)

**Sassanian Art.**—C. L. A. (*B. Metr. Mus.* XVII, 1922, pp. 135-136; 3 figs.) gives a brief discussion of Sassanian art, based on Pézard's *La céramique d'Islam et ses origines*, and illustrated by cuts showing some Sassanian vases recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum.

**The Gandhara Sculptures.**—ALBERT GRÜNWEDEL is the author of a recent essay on the so-called decorative element in the Gandhara sculptures. He finds a religious or cosmological significance in the minor figures which surround and frame the principal scenes of the Gandhara reliefs. (*Ber. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 21-27; 14 figs.)

**The Coins of Northwestern India.**—R. B. WHITEHEAD has outlined the history of pre-Mohammedan coinage in Bactria and northwestern India. After preliminary remarks on the value of coins as supplementing and illustrating the literary records of these regions, the author sketches the history of Greek exploration and domination in the Far East, from the expedition of Alexander through the period of Seleucus, who made a treaty with Chandragupta, king of India, the rise of the independent state of Bactria and the extension of Greek power south of the Hindu Kush under Demetrius and Eucratides, to the final fall of the Greek dynasty before the invading Saka Scythians. The coins of the Greek kings of Bactria are well known as including brilliant examples of Hellenistic coin design. The Saka Scythians issued bilingual coins which show the persistence of the Greek tradition. The coins of Gondophares recall the Christian legend of the conversion of this monarch by St. Thomas. A later invasion of Kushans swept away the Sakas and also a lingering remnant of Greek rule in the Kabul valley. Coins throw some light on obscure points in the chronology of the Kushan rulers. They also issued bilingual coins, with legible Greek inscriptions, but with kingly titles in Iranian. Their most celebrated king was Kanishka, the convener of the Fourth Buddhist Council. This discussion of the coinage of the Greeks and their successors in Bactria is followed by a description of the early native coins of India. The earliest of these, which may be dated as far back as the sixth century B.C., are rectangular punch-marked pieces of silver. The monetary system was based on the Indian *rati*, the seed of the Indian liquorice. Die-struck coins of a date earlier

than Alexander's invasion are known, including the coins of Taxila, which show a lion on one side and an elephant on the other. After this date one may observe mutual influences between Indian and Greek types of money. In the fourth century A.D. the Gupta dynasty reached the height of its power and issued gold coins on a standard derived through the Kushans from the Roman aureus. At the end of the fifth century the White Huns invaded India, and issued coins which were barbarous imitations of the money of the invaded countries. After their expulsion in the sixth century the Lesser Kushans ruled the Punjab for three hundred years. Their coins show relationship to the currency of the greater Kushans and the Sassanian kings. The Hindu kings of Kabul issued the "bull and horseman" currency in the ninth century. This continued until the Mohammedan conquest and was perpetuated by the Mohammedans. In Kashmir degraded copies of Kushan currency were in use until the sixteenth century. Debased imitations of Sassanian money were in use in the United Provinces and Central India in the mediaeval period; and some of the native princes issued coins imitative of the "bull and horseman" currency of Kabul. [*The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of Northwestern India*, by R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Num. Not.*, No. 13. New York, 1922, American Numismatic Society. 56 pp.; 14 pls.; map. 16mo.]

**Explorations in Turkestan.**—An address delivered by Sir HERCULES READ at the latest annual meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London is in great part a review of the archaeological explorations and discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia and Western China, described in detail in the monumental publications *Serindia* and *The Cave of the Thousand Buddhas*. Special emphasis is laid on discoveries at Niya, where a hoard of wooden tablets with writing in Kharoshti was found, together with evidences of both Greek and Hindu influences; and on the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas, with its rich ornament in stucco relief and in painting, and the great collection of books and paintings of the T'ang period which was discovered there. (*Ant. J.* II, 1922, pp. 177-192; 12 pls.)

**Japanese Sword Mounts.**—R. H. RUCKER describes a special exhibition of Japanese sword mounts at the Metropolitan Museum. (*B. Metr. Mus.* XVII, 1922, pp. 173-176; 2 figs.)

## EGYPT

**The Problem of Akhenaton.**—T. ERIC PEET states and discusses briefly some of the problems raised by recent discoveries connected with the religious revolution of Amenophis IV or Akhenaton. The examination of the body of this king indicates that he died at about the age of thirty, and hence was nineteen years old when he broke away from the established religion, and set up his new capital and cult at El Amarna. There is no foundation for the theory that this worship was introduced by his mother, Queen Ty, from Syria. The evidence shows that she was an Egyptian. On the other hand the Aton worshipped by Akhenaton seems to have had a place in the Egyptian pantheon in the reign of Amenophis III. Akhenaton's innovation was in making this deity his sole god. His essential monotheism can hardly be controverted by the existence of occasional traces of polytheistic conceptions in inscriptions of his reign. The origin of the new style of art which appears under Akhenaton is the subject of controversy. Probably it is due to the liberation of ideas

which could not find free expression under the restriction of the old religion. (*Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, IX, 1921, pp. 39-48.)

**Amon and Toutankhamon.**—In *Mon. Piot*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 47-68 (pl.; 11 figs.) G. BÉNÉDITE discusses an eighteenth dynasty group of sculpture of black granite in the Louvre representing Amon with the king Toutankhamon. The god is seated and rests his hands on the arms of the king who stands in front of him. The king is much smaller than the god, and at some period his head and arms were purposely broken off and his cartouches partly erased. The group is a fine example of Egyptian sculpture.

**Egyptian Documents of the Persian Period.**—EDUARD MEYER has discussed an interesting papyrus which has been published in the series of *Demotische Studien*. (*Die sogenannte demotische Chronik des Papyrus 211 der Bibliothèque Nationale*, W. Spiegelberg, 1914.) On one side of this roll is a series of oracular sayings, ostensibly of the Persian period, together with prophetic interpretations which the reader was expected to attribute to the same period. As a matter of fact the oracles are a fraudulent invention of the Hellenistic age, and the interpretations are prophecies after the event. Meyer shows the relation of the chronology indicated in the "prophecies" to other records of the history of Egypt under the Persians. The prophecies are written on papyrus which had been used before; and on the back are fragments of a document of the Persian period, a code of the laws of Egypt prepared under Darius, including a copy of a decree of Cambyses, exempting the people from the payment of taxes for the support of the temples. Apparently Darius restored the revenues of the temples. (*Sitzb. Ber. Akad.* 1915, pp. 287-311.)

**Triptychs and Similar Objects.**—The triptych or folding altar-piece of the Christian church had its ancient prototype in Egypt. Here a relief or painting of a divinity, whether an *ex voto* or an object of family worship, sometimes had shutters or wings on the inside of which the attendant votaries were represented. A stone relief from Tel-el-Amarna of King Akhenaton and his family as divine beings, was once furnished with such folding wings; and a pair of wooden panels in Berlin, about two feet tall, with four figures painted on each, are the wings of a similar arrangement. The same eight worshippers with their attributes, including a camel, are represented in a single scene on a relief in the Museum at Cairo. Vitruvius and Pliny both mention the box frames with covers, in which frescoes cut from their walls in Greece were brought to Italy; and such paintings, still in the boxes with covers standing open, are represented on the architecturally decorated walls of Roman and Pompeian houses as if set against the wall; but the Italian artists seem not to have used the wings for painting. The wooden panels in question are late Roman and crudely executed but show the general technique of the Fayoum funeral portraits. (R. PAGENSTECHER. *Arch. Anz.* 1919, cols. 9-25; 4 figs.)

**The Egyptian Lexicon.**—In *Z. Morgenl. Ges.* LXXVI, 1922, pp. 72-84, A. ERMAN describes the process by which for many years the new Egyptian lexicon has been in process of construction. A paragraph of about twenty-five words is autographed from a text, and as many copies are printed as there are words in the paragraph. Then each word is underscored and placed on a card and filed away under the respective word in the general catalogue. About a million and a half cards have already been gathered. It is estimated that it will take about four years more to finish the collation of material. Two

more years will be necessary to prepare from the cards the manuscript that will go to the printer. The work when printed will contain about 2000 folio pages of type and 5000 pages of autograph photographically reproduced. The dictionary will be so expensive that, under existing conditions, only a few libraries in Germany can afford to buy it; but it is hoped that, when the time to print comes, a subvention will be found that will make it possible to complete this great undertaking on which the entire present generation of Egyptologists has labored.

**A Bulletin of Papyrology.**—Another section of SEYMOUR DE RICCI's 'Bulletin Papyrologique,' comprising the second part of a list of books and articles on papyri published between 1904 and 1912, has appeared. Items are frequently accompanied by brief summaries or descriptions of the publications in question. (*R. Ét. Gr.* XXXIV, 1921, pp. 80-112, 275-336.)

### BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

**Early Babylonian History.**—In *Publications of the Babylonian Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*, XIII, L. LEGRAIN has published in text, transcription and translation a number of extremely important tablets of the Nippur collection of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania that bear on the history of the earliest period in Babylonia. The first two are lists of old Babylonian dynasties that supplement the lists of kings previously published by Scheil and Poebel. One of these is specially valuable because it gives a summary of all the preceding dynasties, many of which are broken out of the text. It enumerates eleven royal cities, each of which held the hegemony from one to four times, and gives the total number of kings of each city and the total number of years that they reigned. With the aid of these tablets it is now possible to reconstruct the list of Babylonian kings back to 4000 B.C., and to determine with approximate accuracy the date of each king. Another most interesting document is a seal given by King Ibi-Sin of the third Dynasty of Ur to the high priest of Enlil at Nippur, which contains a portrait of the king in the usual Sumerian flounced skirt, seated on a throne and holding an alabaster vase in his hand.

**Babylonian Anticipations of the West Asiatic Mystery Religions.**—In *Z. Morgenl. Ges.* LXXVI, 1922, pp. 36-54, H. ZIMMERN shows that old Babylonian religion in external form supplied much material to the West Asiatic mystery religions, as well as to Parseeism, Judaism and early Christianity in the realms of astronomy, cosmology, astrology, magic, cult, and myth. The mystical trait, however, that was the essence of these later religions, was alien to the Babylonian religion, and came into them from a new external influence of Indo-European origin.

**Development of the Sky-Goddess Nut into a Goddess of the Dead.**—In *Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.* XXVII, 1922, Part 1, pp. 1-62, A. RUSCH shows that in the Pyramid Texts the sky-goddess Nut is constantly invoked to help the dead king to secure solar immortality by making his grave or his coffin the counterpart of the sky. This conception lingers in the coffin decoration of the later period. The coffin is designed to represent the sky, and Nut is figured upon it. This thought is combined with the idea that the dead man is identified with the sun-god Re. Thus gradually Nut comes to be associated with the dead, and is transformed in the latest period into a chthonic deity.



**The Medium of Exchange in Ancient Babylonia.**—In *Or. Lit.* XXIV, 1921, cols. 21-25, W. SCHWENZNER shows that in earliest times in Babylonia the standard of value was the *gur*, the same as the Hebrew *cor*, or *homer*, "ass's load," of barley. All other commodities were reckoned by their equivalence with this. In the third millennium B.C. silver gradually came into use, and for all purposes of exchange one shekel of silver was regarded as the equivalent of one *gur* of barley, that is about sixty cents' worth of silver would buy six bushels of barley. By the time of Dungi of the Dynasty of Ur four-fifths of a *gur* was the equivalent of a shekel, and in the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon the equation was three-fifths of a *gur* to the shekel.

**Transportation of a Statue by Samsu-iluna.**—In *Or. Lit.* XXIV, 1921, cols. 18-19, B. MEISSNER translates a text of Samsu-iluna of the First Dynasty of Babylon as follows: "I am Samsu-iluna, who set up in E-turkalama a statue of marble (?), a monolithic block which depicted the entire form of the body, weighing 84 talents." Such blocks of stone were transported all the way from Syria, and the transportation was considered such an important event that Samsu-iluna named one of the years of his reign after this event. Similar transportations are often mentioned in the texts or are depicted on the reliefs.

**The Second King of Amurru.**—In *Or. Lit.* XXIV, 1921, col. 18, W. F. ALBRECHT translates an inscription of Ammiditana which reads 'King *da-ga-mu* of the land of Amurru.' The word *dagamu* is neither Sumerian nor Akkadian Semitic, but is probably Amorite, like so many words in texts of the First Dynasty, and is to be translated "second." Ammurawih is the first king of Babylon who claims this title, and Ammiditana is the second. In view of the present active discussion over the 'Amorite Empire' this passage has importance.

**An Old Babylonian Military Dispatch.**—In *Or. Lit.* XXIV, 1921, cols. 71-72, A. UNGNAD translates a letter which probably dates from the period of the war between Rim-Sin and Hammurabi. It reads as follows: "To my Lord, thy servant Awil-Anim speaks thus: The enemy has come twice and defeated thy best troops; and in consequence of the weakness of the force in Sakdainpa the fort cannot be held. From the troops that are with thee send reinforcements. A garrison of 500 men in Sakdainpa and 500 in Adab can hold the places. The fort must not be lost. Urgent!"

**The Sinai Inscriptions.**—In *Or. Lit.* XXIV, 1921, cols. 242-246, H. SCHNEIDER contests the view of Petrie, Gardiner, Cowley, Sayce, Eiseler, Sethe, Bauer and others that the newly discovered Sinai texts date from the period of the eighteenth dynasty, that they are Semitic, and that they disclose the first stages of the evolution of the alphabet out of Egyptian hieroglyphs and prove that alphabetic writing was known to the Semites long before the time of Moses. He shows that these texts were scratched on older Egyptian monuments at a time when Egypt had lost control of the mines at "Sinai" and these had fallen into the hands of barbarian invaders. This cannot have been earlier than the tenth century B.C. The invaders of whom one thinks most naturally are the Philistines, and this script bears a closer resemblance to the linear script of Crete than it does to Egyptian. All attempts to read the texts as Semitic are doubtful, and it is quite as likely that they are Philistine. Since the alphabet was probably brought into Canaan by the Philistines, this Sinai script may still be related to it, but it does not establish an earlier use of the alphabet in Western Asia than 1000 B.C.



**The Old Assyrian "Law-Code" from Ashur.**—In *Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.* XXVI, 1921, Part 3, pp. 1-84, P. KOSHAKER investigates the sources of the recently published so-called Assyrian law-code, and comes to the conclusion that it is not properly a law-code like the Code of Hammurabi, but is rather a system of jurisprudence based upon laws and legal decisions. It is a "Rechtbuch" rather than a "Gesetz." It is a private work for the guidance of the student of law rather than a codification of legislation. This does not detract in the least from its value as a document for the study of old Assyrian law, because the author does not give any subjective coloring to his presentation of the law in his time, but compiles slavishly from documents and court records.

**The God of the Hebrews in an Old Assyrian Text.**—In *Or. Lit.* XXIV, 1919, cols. 246-247, A. JIRKU calls attention to a text discovered by the German expedition at Ashur that gives a list of gods worshipped in various temples and by various peoples of the empire. Among these appears "Habiru, god of the Habiru." The Habiru are the race that appears in the Tel el-Amarna letters as menacing Palestine, and there is now general agreement that they are to be identified with the Hebrews. Here then it would seem that their tribal god bore the same name as themselves, just as Ashur is both god and people, and Gad is both god and tribe. This god Heber is identical with the patriarch 'Eber the ancestor of all the Hebrews in *Gen.* xi.

**Veiling in Ancient Assyria.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIV, 1921, pp. 209-238, is an article by the late MORRIS JASTROW on "Veiling in Ancient Assyria." The discussion is based upon the prescriptions concerning women's attire contained in the code of laws discovered at Ashur and published by Otto Schroeder (*Texte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts, wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft, Leipzig, 1920*). The rules that wives and free maidens, as well as slave women, be veiled in public was made because such women were the property of husband, father, or master. Harlots, no man's, or every man's property, were forbidden to wear veils. References in the Old Testament to veiling are discussed. From Assyria the custom spread to other places. Mohammed adopted a custom already existing. In some instances veiling is derived from fear of demons and is intended to serve as a protection, e.g., when the head is veiled in the presence of death or after a death in the family. The veiling of the bride is derived from the same original conception as the ancient Assyrian custom of veiling.

**The Present Problems of Assyriology.**—In *Z. Morgenl. Ges.* LXXXVI, 1922, pp. 85-100, B. MEISSNER discusses the discoveries of the last few years and the new problems that they have raised for Assyriologists. The chief of these are the chronological tablets which now give us the names of nearly all the kings of Babylon in chronological order from 4000 B.C. to the fall of Babylon, and of the kings of Assyria from 2000 B.C. to the fall of Nineveh. If the date of the Hammurabi Dynasty can be determined with certainty from astronomical observations, as Weidner has attempted, then we shall have a precise chronology of the entire history of Babylonia and Assyria. The newly discovered Assyrian law-code opens up a whole series of problems, and the large numbers of hymns, prayers, omens, and incantations discovered at Ashur provide material for study for many years to come.

## PALESTINE AND SYRIA

**Jupiter Heliopolitanus.**—The statuette of Jupiter Heliopolitanus recently published by R. Dussaud (*Syria*, I, 1920, pp. 3-15; see *A.J.A.* XXIV, 1921, p. 94) is discussed by F. CUMONT (*Syria*, II, 1921, pp. 40-46.) In the series of busts represented in relief on the front of the figure the one identified by Dussaud as Athena is really Ares. If one gives the several gods represented by these busts their Latin names, it is easily seen that they stand for the seven planets: the sun, the moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Juno, and Saturn. The substitution of Juno for the more usual Venus is noteworthy, but is due to the fact that Ishtar united the functions of Juno and Venus. On either side of her is a star of five rays, indicating that she is at once the morning and the evening star. If the names of the planets are read on the image as in a Semitic text—the right-hand column first, then the left—their order is that of vicinity to the earth: moon, Mercury, Venus (Juno), sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. If on the other hand the names are read from left to right, line by line, the order is sun, moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn—in other words, the order of the days of the week. Moreover, the horizontal pairs of busts represent pairs of spheres which bear the relation of the fourth in music. According to Dio Cassius the harmony of the spheres is said to have determined the order of the days of the week. We see then the Pythagorean origin of this element in an oriental cult. The bronze is of importance because it shows for the first time the significance of the planets in the cult and doctrine of Heliopolis.

## ASIA MINOR

**A New Hittite King.**—In *Or. Lit.* XXIV, 1921, cols. 36-70, F. SCHACHERMEYER gathers evidence to show that before Hattusil II, who is commonly regarded as the founder of the main Hittite Dynasty, the name of Dudhalia must be inserted.

**Hittite Art.**—A recent series of articles by EDMOND POTTIER (*Syria*, I, 1920, pp. 169-182, 264-286; II, 1921, pp. 6-29, 96-119; 111 figs.) constitutes an unusually detailed and comprehensive treatment of Hittite art; it is, the author says, a sort of corpus of the subject. A review of the history of the Hittites and of their relations with other oriental peoples establishes the fact that their art is earlier than Assyrian art. The monuments of Carchemish show that Hittite art is based on Sumerian, Akkadian, and Elamite models of the period 3000-1500 B.C., but adapts these models to the customs and fashions of the Hittites. M. Pottier's latest chapters are devoted to the monuments of Zandjirli, a site which exemplifies with exceptional completeness the Hittite civilization, its city-plans, walls, palaces, reliefs, and statues.

## GREECE

### ARCHITECTURE

**The Great Hall at Eleusis.**—At a meeting of the Berlin Archaeological Society, in October, 1919, F. Noack presented measurements and plans which were intended as a contribution toward the history of the buildings of the Sanctuary at Eleusis, and discussed especially the Telesterion or Hall of the Mysteries. The original small square hall, of the time of Pisistratus, was probably partially restored after its destruction by the Persians, but

in the time of Cimon, between 470 and 460, it was rebuilt and doubled in size by an addition on the west, making a long hall with three rows of seven columns each, the bases of which are still to be traced. Later in the same century Ictinus again doubled the area by an addition on the south which contained two rows of four columns each and would have had five rows if the whole square had been rebuilt on the same scale. W. Dörpfeld continued the discussion and gave it as his opinion that the hall as built by Cimon remained in use as the chief meeting place with the newer hall of Ictinus as a separate antechamber, the two being later given greater unity by the architect Philo in the fourth century, who built a portico extending along the eastern ends of both parts. When the Romans again rebuilt after a destructive fire in the second century A.D., they took away the wall between the two parts and made a new square hall with  $7 \times 6$  columns, covering the whole area and hence four times as large as the hall of the sixth century. As this was later than the time of Plutarch, the gallery running round the hall and the raised lantern or partial third story which he mentions (*Pericles*, 13) must have been in the hall built by Cimon; but these features were reproduced in the larger hall of Roman times. (*Arch. Anz.* 1919, cols. 130-136.)

**Studies on the Corinthian Capital.**—In the first part of her study of the Corinthian capital, M. GUETSCHOW deals with the earliest example of the style, in the temple of Apollo at Bassae, and the capitals of the time of the Roman republic. The Phigalian capital, of which a few fragments gathered up and taken to Athens in recent years are all that remains, belonged apparently to a single marble column, perhaps supporting a votive offering of some kind, in front of the temple, which was itself built entirely of gray limestone. The drawings and descriptions left by the archaeologists who discovered the capital in 1811 are so incomplete and inconsistent that little can be determined with certainty about its form and details. Even whether the leaves were acanthus is questioned. A careful examination of other early Corinthian capitals reveals a number of serious errors in identification and in conjectural dates. A capital from the Stoa of Hadrian (ca. 130 A.D.) has since the time of Stuart and Revett been accepted as that of the Olympieum at Athens (175-164 B.C.). The round temple near the Tiber in Rome, which has been assigned to the second century B.C., is mid-Augustan. The fine capital in the National Museum at Athens is later than the Lesser Propylaea at Eleusis, hence after 50 B.C. The classical form of the capital occurs in Italy only after Sulla brought the columns from the Olympieum to the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter at Rome. The Italian republican form which preceded it probably originated in Sicily and was carried into the peninsula from there. (*Jb. Arch. I.* XXXVI, 1921, pp. 44-83; tables, 3 pls.)

**The "Monument des Taureaux" at Delos.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XV, 1922, pp. 337-338, a letter of HUBERT MORAND is reprinted from the *Débats* of March 10. He sets forth the hypothesis of Messrs. Couchoud and Svoronos that the building called the "Monument des Taureaux" was erected to house a ship dedicated as a votive offering by Antigonus Gonatas after a naval victory over Ptolemy's fleet, about 250 B.C. *Ibid.*, pp. 338-340, in a letter reprinted from the *Débats* of March 23, R. VALLOIS cites inscriptions which prove that the building in question was the *Pythion* and was in existence at least as early as 275 B.C.

## SCULPTURE

**A Head from the Parthenon in the Louvre.**—In *Mon. Piot*, XXIII, 1918-1919, pp. 1-25 (pl.; 13 figs.) É. MICHON discusses the position on the Parthenon frieze of the head of a youth (Fig. 1) presented to the Louvre in 1916. He cannot locate it beyond dispute, but is inclined to think it belonged to slab No. XIX, now in the Acropolis Museum.

**Monuments of Olympic Victors.**—The monuments, especially the statues, erected in honor of successful contestants in the Olympic games are the subject of a recently published book by WALTER WOODBURN HYDE. In a preliminary chapter Professor Hyde discusses the origin and development of Greek athletic games in general, tracing their history through the prehistoric and historic periods. The general characteristics of the statues dedicated in honor of Olympic victors are the subject of the second chapter, together with the canons of proportion followed by the several schools of sculpture. Special attention is directed to the assimilation of athletic statues to the types of gods and heroes. The third and fourth chapters deal with works in which the victor was represented at rest and with those in which a characteristic pose of the actual contest was reproduced. The monuments to victors in the hippodrome and to the winners of prizes in non-athletic contests are discussed in the fifth chapter. The sixth, of which the substance has been previously published (*A.J.A.* XI, 1907, pp. 396-416; XVIII, 1914, pp. 462-478), is devoted to a special consideration of two marble heads from victor statues, the first a fragment from Olympia, which is attributed to Lysippus, the second a youthful head from Sparta, now in a private collection in Philadelphia, which has usually been identified as a Heracles, but which Dr. Hyde maintains is the head of an athlete, of eclectic style, showing traces of Praxitelcan and Scopaeic influence, but marked especially by Lysippan characteristics. Chapter VII, also based on published papers (*A.J.A.* XIX, 1915, pp. 57-62; XVIII, 1914, pp. 156-164), is a discussion of the material of statues of Olympic victors, with emphasis on the not infrequent use of stone for such monuments. Special attention is directed here to the archaic stone statue of Arrachion at Phigalia, of which the



FIGURE 1.—HEAD FROM PARTHENON FRIEZE:  
PARIS.

torso is extant. The concluding chapter lists the statues of victors in the Altis at Olympia, both those mentioned by Pausanias and others, not mentioned by Pausanias, of which the bases have been discovered; also monuments erected to Olympic victors on other sites. Throughout the book the references to the literature and illustrations of the subject are exceptionally abundant and complete. [*Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, by WALTER WOODBURN HYDE. Washington, 1921, Carnegie Institution, xix, 406 pp.; 30 pls.; 80 figs.; 2 plans. 4 to. \$10.]

**The Samian Hera.**—At the meeting of the Berlin Archaeological Society in November, 1919, Mr. SCHEDE discussed the cult statue of Hera at Samos, comparing the type seen on late Roman coins with a very ancient terra-cotta figure from Samos itself. Both have the long chiton with very deep kolpos in Cypriote-Phoenician style and the crossed bands around the body, which are symbolic of the bride, while the large triple breast ornament seen on the coins belongs to the Argive cult and indicates the same mixture of oriental and Argive elements that is found in the legends. A coin of Gordian, showing the xoanon in an aedicula with the sacred tree in a tub on the step, suggests that at Samos, as at Didyma, the cella was an unroofed court with a small shrine for the cult statue in the middle. (*Arch. Anz.* 1919, col. 139.)

**An Archaic Statuette.**—VALENTIN MÜLLER discusses a small bronze statuette recently acquired by the Antiquarium in Berlin. It represents a female figure wearing a long Ionic chiton and pointed shoes. The arrangement of the hair, the shape of the skull, the full and fleshy form of the face, and the almond-shaped eyes associate it with the Ionic school. It is to be dated about 590-570 B.C. (*Ber. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 30-32; 5 figs.)

**Polyclitan Notes.**—At the meeting of the Berlin Archaeological Society in November, 1919, W. AMELUNG, following the discourse of A. Brückner on the *talo incessens* of Polyclitus (see 77. *Berl. Winkelmannsprogramm*) called attention to a difference of attitude in this artist's young men and his boys. The former have the head inclined toward the side of the supporting leg, making a peculiar graceful curve from the toe of the free leg to the top of the head, while the latter, with the head bent toward the free leg, have a more self-contained and modest character. An example of the boys' statues of his early years, about 460, is No. 101 in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. The speaker also discussed the Polyclitan influence in the Phigalian and other friezes, and pointed out the Polyclitan character of certain defects in a fifth century statue of a boxer in Dresden, namely a lack of elasticity in the movements, especially of the legs, and a want of realistic coordination of muscular action, e.g., between the extended right arm and the breast muscles. (*Arch. Anz.* 1919, cols. 136-139; 2 figs.)

**A Praxitelean Torso.**—A marble torso of exceptional quality (Fig. 2) which has recently been acquired by the Rhode Island School of Design has been discussed by STEPHEN B. LUCE. This fragment was for many years in the collection of Sir Robert Peel, and still earlier belonged to Sir David Wilkie, who presumably bought it in Italy. The subject is a youthful male figure, leaning upon a tree-stump of which a part is still preserved, attached to the left thigh. The composition, in which the supporting tree forms an integral part, the suave curves of the figure resulting from its attitude, and the delicacy of the workmanship suggest that this fragment is to be closely associated with the school

of Praxiteles. It is of Parian marble and is probably an original work of the fourth century B.C., not a copy by an artist of Roman date. The pose is very similar to that of the *Hermes at Olympia*. The left arm rested at the side of the figure or on the tree; the right, like that of the *Hermes*, held a bunch of grapes. The ends of long locks falling in front of the shoulders show that the subject was not *Hermes* but *Apollo* or *Dionysus*. Comparison with other



FIGURE 2.—TORSO: RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN: PROVIDENCE.

monuments shows that the statue resembles a familiar type of the youthful *Dionysus*. (Reinach, *Rep. Stat.* I, p. 137, No. 1572; p. 139, No. 1574; p. 377, No. 1583; p. 379, No. 1586; *ibid.* II, p. 121, No. 2; p. 127, Nos. 1, 3, 5; p. 787, No. 3; see especially a statuette in the Vatican, *ibid.* III, p. 236, No. 7.) The composition has a close resemblance to that of the *Dionysus* of Praxiteles at Elis, as represented on coins, though that figure is partially draped, and does not show long locks of hair on the shoulders. Probably the fragment in Providence is the work of a pupil of Praxiteles, based in part on the *Dionysus* of Elis, and perhaps executed during the life time of the master. (*B.R.I. Des.* X, 1922, pp. 29-33; 2 figs.)



**A Replica of the Venus de Medicis.**—In *Mon. Piot*, XXIII, 1918–1919, pp. 45–61 (3 pls.; 2 figs.) E. POTTIER discusses an alabaster statuette of a nude Venus in the Vlasto collection. It was found at Livadia in Boeotia and goes back to the same original as the Venus de Medicis, though copied from an earlier model. It was made in Graeco-Roman times, but preserves a fifth century tradition. The concept is religious—the goddess born of the sea.

**A Marble of the Fourth Century B.C.**—BRUNO SCHRÖDER discusses briefly a marble head of a goddess which has long been in the Berlin collection (*Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, 616). He agrees with Arndt (*Einzelaufnahmen*,

637–638) in assigning it to the second half of the fourth century B.C. The arrangement of the hair and the posture of the head recall the statue of Apollo from Gortyna (*Ausonia*, II, 1907, p. 16; Reinach, *Rép. Stat.* IV, 58, 4) but the earrings prove that the Berlin fragment is a female head. Comparable, but somewhat later, are the head of a statuette of Artemis at Copenhagen (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Billedtavler* VI, 82) and that of the satyr of Lamia (Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*, pl. 78). (*Ber. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 17–18; fig.)

**A Bronze Portrait of an Unknown Man.**—In *Mon. Piot*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 83–100 (2 pls.; 3 figs.), C. PICARD discusses the bronze head of a man (Fig. 3) found in the Old Palaestra at Delos in 1912 by the late Charles Avezou. It is remarkably well preserved and a fine example of portraiture in bronze. The eyes are of paste set in. The head represents



FIGURE 3.—UNIDENTIFIED PORTRAIT HEAD FROM DELOS.

a good fourth century tradition, though the technique is Hellenistic, and it probably dates from about 150 B.C. It has not been identified.

**Asclepius and the Charites.**—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* XXXIX, 1921–1922, pp. 213–218 (pl.), MARCEL DURRY publishes the relief in the rotunda of the Museo Clementino of the Vatican representing, from left to right, Hermes and a kneeling man, Asclepius and the three Charites. It is a votive relief offered to Asclepius, apparently a late Greek work. The execution is coarse. The types are well known, but the combination of persons is unusual. Various interpretations are discussed, and the conclusion is reached that two scenes are represented: first, the prayer of the man who is ill (prayer to Hermes as intercessor); second, the recovery and gratitude of the patient, the Charites symbolizing health and also gratitude. This approaches very closely the interpretation of Otto Jahn.



**A Lost Replica of the Barberini Faun.**—KURT CASSIRER calls attention to the figure of St. John in one of a series of engravings illustrating the Apocalypse, published by Jean Duvet about 1550. Its posture is far more bold than those which this artist ordinarily represented, and is quite obviously copied from some antique model. That model must have been an ancient replica, now lost, of the Barberini Faun, since the figure now in Munich was not discovered before the seventeenth century. Duvet's work is, therefore, of some importance in the reconstruction of the missing parts of the Barberini statue. It seems to confirm Furtwängler's theory of the original position of the right leg. The existing restoration is purely in the spirit of baroque art, giving the whole composition a restlessness which is foreign to the style of ancient sculpture. (*Münch. Jb. Bild. K. XII*, 1922, pp. 90-97; fig.)

#### PAINTING AND VASES

**A Painted Attic Votive Relief.**—A small fragment (20×27.5 cm.) of a marble polychrome Attic relief of about 400 B.C. (Fig. 4) is published with photograph and colored plate by G. RODENWALDT (*Jb. Arch. I. XXXVI*, 1921, pp. 1-8, pl.; fig.). It is from Eleusis and shows the head and shoulders of Demeter and the head of a boy behind her, with a torch, doubtless held by a standing Kore, at the broken right-hand edge. The painting consists of a blue background, red-brown hair for the boy, yellow on Demeter's veil, and red for the eyes, eyebrows, contours of heads and arm, and for the grooves on the torch handle and between the fingers. This red line, already known on reliefs of Roman date and there sometimes combined with incision, as on the Neumagen relief



FIGURE 4.—VOTIVE RELIEF: ELEUSIS.

at Trier, is here carried back to the Greek classical period. Its aesthetic function is to prevent the uncolored portions from looking like holes in the bright background, as they might without it, in the small and low reliefs on which it is found. Large and fully rounded or undercut figures do not need it.

**A Recovered Vase.**—The Attic vase, of the fourth century, on which Heracles carrying Hades is represented (Passeri II, 104; Welcker, *Alt. Denkm.* III, pl. 19, 1; Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, art. Herakles, p. 2187), was formerly in the Vatican, then disappeared. It was sold by Sotheby, London, April 28, 1922, and the description given in the catalogue of the sale is published in French translation by S. R., *R. Arch.* XV, 1922, p. 340.

### INSCRIPTIONS

**The Inscription of the Stadium at Delphi.**—P. FOURNIER has renewed the discussion of the fifth century inscription found on the retaining wall of the Stadium at Delphi, and originally published by M. Homolle (*B.C.H.* XXIII, 1899, p. 612). He accepts an emendation of Homolle's reading proposed by M. Keramopoulos (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1906, p. 157) and confirmed by Dr. Buck (*Cl. Phil.* VII, p. 78); and he adds a new reading of his own, τὸ νέον for τὸν ποῖνον. Admitting that this word does not occur elsewhere, he seeks to justify it as a possible word for new wine. The inscription thus forbids new wine to be carried from the Stadium, and indicates the existence at Delphi of a Dionysiac festival parallel to the Anthesteria at Athens. (*R. Ét. Anc.* XXIV, 1922, pp. 1-12.)

**The Athenian Proedroi of the Fourth Century B.C.**—GUSTAVE GLOTZ shows that the date at which the executive functions hitherto discharged by the prytanes were taken over by the proedroi was the winter of 378-377 B.C., a period which was marked by a renaissance of Athenian power and ambition and by a number of changes in the governmental machinery of Athens, including the constitution of a synedrion representing the cities of the empire. M. Glotz's conclusions are based on a study of the epigraphic evidence. (*R. Ét. Gr.* XXXIV, 1921, pp. 1-19.)

### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**A Comparison of Painting and Sculpture.**—In *Ath. Mitt.* XLIV, 1919, pp. 47-174, (6 pls.; 17 figs.), G. VON LÜCKEN reviews the development in the representation of the human form by the Greek vase painter and the Greek sculptor. The former focused his attention chiefly on the human figure in motion; the latter endeavored to express the "corporality" of his subject. At the end of the archaic period the two aims coalesce, and from this time on each branch of art could influence the other.

**Penelope's Work.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XV, 1922, pp. 319-323 (pl.; fig.) J. SIX publishes a terra-cotta spool the two ends of which are covered with gold medallions. On one of these Odysseus is represented sitting on a stool and carving or whittling a staff with a curved top while his dog lies at his feet. On the other medallion is Penelope engaged, not in weaving, but in making a fine web or net (*filet sans noeud*), such as Greek women used to bind about their hair. The spool is said to have been found in the Crimea, and is now in the possession of M. M. Feuardent. It appears to be Attic work of a date not far

from the middle of the fifth century B.C. It is a curious fact that the only women represented in Greek vase-paintings as weaving are Circe and Penelope.

**The Peplus of the Greek Woman.**—In *Mon. Piot*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 5-46 (26 figs.) L. HEUZEY discusses the "peplus" of the Greek women. He distinguishes four types of the open garment: 1, the simple form; 2, the form with fold; 3, that with long fold; and 4, the one with long fold and girdle. He notes the half-closed type, the closed type with girdle and fold, and the closed type with long fold. His paper is illustrated with photographs of living models compared with vase-paintings and pieces of sculpture.

**Aphrodite and the Tortoise.**—The frequent association of Aphrodite with the tortoise, especially when the goddess is represented as the support of a mirror, is discussed by W. DEONNA (*R. Hist. Rel.* LXXXI, pp. 135-144). The disc of the mirror probably symbolizes the heavens. The tortoise on which the foot of the goddess rests is a symbol of the earth, as in the mythology of many primitive peoples. Aphrodite herself may have had in primitive belief this animal form which later appears only as an attribute.

**Plato's Alarm Clock.**—H. DIELS, following a suggestion derived from the musician Aristocles as quoted by Athenaeus (IV, pp. 174c ff.) has presented a new reconstruction of the alarm devised by Plato to wake the students of the Academy. A quantity of water suddenly released from an upper receptacle fills a lower, forcing the air in the latter through a pipe and so producing a sound which was an ancient anticipation of the modern factory whistle. (*Sitzb. Ber. Akad.* 1915, pp. 824-830; 3 figs.)

**Lycurgus and Druidism.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XV, 1922, pp. 302-318, SALOMON REINACH calls attention to a passage near the beginning of Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus* in which the Spartan writer Aristocrates is cited as authority for the statement that Lycurgus visited Libya, Iberia, and India. Libya here means Egypt, and Iberia means Gaul. By a process of elimination the result is reached that some Greeks believed Lycurgus to have introduced at Sparta something derived from Gaul, and the only thing not otherwise accounted for is the military education. There must, then, have been some similarity between the military education of the Gauls—and this was under the direction of the druids—and that of the Spartans.

**The Powers of the Athenian Boule.**—PAUL CLOCHÉ has published a study, based in large measure on literary evidence, of the powers exercised by the Boule in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The orators regularly associate the Boule with the Ecclesia and the popular courts. Its difference from the Ecclesia is one of degree rather than kind. It persisted as an inferior and subordinate organ of government, exercising more influence than is granted in the *Politics* of Aristotle. A scholiast on Aeschines speaks of the Boule as a small city; and as an image in little of the Athenian state, it retained the respect of the citizens. (*R. Ét. Gr.* XXXIV, 1921, pp. 233-265.)

## ITALY

### ARCHITECTURE

**An Annex of the Imperial Palace on the Palatine.**—An unfinished building in the southeast corner of the Roman Forum, connected by stairways on the east side with the Palace of the Caesars on the hill above and containing a large

west hall, a smaller hall and atrium with exedra, etc., was originally planned and partially constructed in the time of Domitian, apparently to serve as a place where the emperor could hold receptions. Under Hadrian it was converted into barracks for slaves, the lofty west hall being divided into three stories, each with cellae or cubicula built along the two long walls and outside the west wall. In late antiquity the atrium, exedra, and a small room adjoining were elaborately decorated with marble incrustations, columns, capitals, etc. This was probably a church. The building, which has been wrongly identified with the *Templum Divi Augusti*, has the same orientation as the temple of Castor, which is north of its western half, but the pre-Domitian remains beneath it, from the time of Caligula or earlier, have that of the *Horrea Germanicana*, which adjoin it on the southwest. The Domitian building represents the last development of the architecture with plain barrel vaulting. The details of the structure, with measurements and elaborate plans based on studies made in 1914, are published by R. DELBRÜCK. (*Jb. Arch. I. XXXVI*, 1921, pp. 8-33; 8 pls.; 8 figs.)

**The Excavations of Pius VI at Tivoli.**—According to local tradition Maecenas had a villa at Tivoli. The ruins commonly called by that name, however, belong to the temple of Hercules. It is probable that the villa of Maecenas is to be identified with the so-called Villa di Cassio which was excavated in the time of Pius VI. The numerous sculptures discovered here were installed in the Sala delle Muse of the Vatican. One of these was the relief including figures of a frog and a lizard, signatures of the Augustan artists *Batrachos* and *Sauros*. The number of portrait busts of celebrated men found in this villa is also notable; and the existence here of a group so grandiose as that of the Muses suggests that the proprietor was the emperor or a rich patrician. R. LANCIANI calls attention to these facts in publishing extracts from a manuscript "*Codice topografica di Tivoli*," containing the correspondence exchanged in the years 1772-1780 by the proprietor of the site, the excavator, and the Pontifical Superintendent of Antiquities. (*Atti e Memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte*, II, 1922, pp. 3-15; fig.)

**The Subterranean Basilica of the Porta Maggiore.**—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* XXXIX, 1921-1922, pp. 165-192 (4 pls.; 2 figs.), H. M. R. LEOPOLD describes and discusses the subterranean basilica discovered in 1917 near the Porta Maggiore in Rome (*A.J.A.* XXIII, 1919 p. 82 and p. 429, XXV, 1921, p. 412). The religious ideas indicated by the scenes and persons represented in the decoration of the basilica are as much Orphic and Dionysiac as Pythagorean. In the first half of the first century the imperial cult was closely connected with that of the mysteries, but from about 50 A.D. to the reign of Hadrian the mysteries were not favored by the emperors. Very likely T. Statilius Taurus was authorized by the Emperor Claudius to build this subterranean Orphic basilica. The condition of the basilica shows that it can have been in use only a short time.

#### SCULPTURE

**Archaic Terra-cotta Agalmata in Italy and Sicily.**—That great technical skill as well as artistic excellence was attained by the artists of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in Sicily and Italy who worked in terra-cotta because of the lack of stone suitable for sculpture, is shown by the numerous fragments of their work that remain. The votive and cult statues and groups erected in

temple precincts are discussed by E. D. VAN BUREN (*J.H.S.* XLI, 1921, pp. 203-216; pl.; 7 figs.). Notable are a very early seated goddess, 75 cm. high, from Granmichele; a Gorgon holding a diminutive Pegasus, from the temple of Athena at Syracuse; part of a very delicately finished head, possibly of Athena, from Metaurum; and the splendid group at Veii, of four lifesize deities, representing the contest of Apollo and Heracles over a stag. Heads and other parts remaining from some fine statues in the sanctuary at Satricum suggest that the Capitoline triad of Zeus, Hera and Athena was worshipped there. Among the smaller remains are many feet variously shod and parts of lions, bulls, and other animals, which remind one of Mycenaean and Minoan art. In Italy this form of art lasted well down into the fifth and fourth centuries, but in Sicily it was superseded by works in bronze, marble and the chryselephantine technique.

**The Column of Trajan and the Dacian Wars.**—G. A. T. DAVIES has published a study of the topography of the Dacian wars of Trajan, based on personal inspection of the terrain, together with reference to the column of Trajan. There has been great divergence of opinion on the route taken by the Roman army in the campaign of 102 A.D. Professor Davies shows that the Romans crossed the Carpathians at the Red Tower Pass, and that they advanced upon the Dacian capital, Sarmizegethusa, by a route directly across the Mühlbach Mountains. A group of fortresses in this mountain district was the primary objective of the Roman advance. Exploration has revealed abundant remains of the Dacian fortifications in this region. (*J.R.S.* X, 1920, pp. 1-28; map.)

**The Golden Bough on Roman Sarcophagi.**—On a sarcophagus in Vienna (Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie, Atlas*, pl. XVII, 22) is a representation of the Rape of Persephone in which Athena, facing the chariot of Pluto, holds in her right hand a laurel bough. The late CARL ROBERT (*Sitzb. Ber. Akad.* 1915, pp. 709-711; fig.) has interpreted this as the golden bough offered to Persephone to insure her return to earth, in opposition to the gesture of Aphrodite on the same relief, who offers the fatal pomegranate. This relief confirms Robert in his similar interpretation of a bough held by Adonis on a relief in the Lateran (*Antike Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 1, pl. V, 21).

#### VASES AND PAINTING

**A Campanian Vase.**—In *Mon. Piot*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 183-213 (3 pls.; 6 figs.) E. GABRICI discusses a Campanian vase found in a tomb at Falcone, Sicily, in 1904 and now in the museum at Palermo. The chief scene represents Silenus and nymphs. Blue, yellow, pink and white are used in the decoration. In different parts of the vase are a few Greek letters which the writer thinks stand for different colors. They were put on to guide the painter in applying his decoration.

**An Ancient Wall Painting in a Fifteenth Century Manuscript.**—In a manuscript of Servius's Virgil dated in 1467, there is at the beginning of Book VI a contemporary pen drawing of Theseus and the dead Minotaur with the rescued Athenian children, which evidently goes back to the same original as the wall painting of this subject in the basilica at Herculaneum, though it lacks the door of the dungeon and the goddess or symbolic figure, possibly Crete, seated on a high rock at one side. The origin of the drawing and its relation to other similar compositions are discussed by M. MAYER. (*Arch. Anz.* 1919, cols. 118-127; fig.)

## INSCRIPTIONS

**Inscriptions from Piedmont.**—PIERO BAROCELLI publishes a few fragmentary Latin inscriptions from various sites in Piedmont. (*Bolletino della Società Piemontese di Archeologia e belle Arti*, V, 1921, pp. 72-75.)

## COINS

**Four Historic Coins.**—H. MATTINGLY discusses four imperial coins of unusual historic interest: (1) An aureus of Caligula, struck at Lugdunum in 37 A.D., soon after his accession, is remarkable for his neglect of the example set by the first coins of Tiberius, which showed the head of his predecessor on the reverse, together with the name of the former emperor. The coin of Caligula has a head, but no inscription on the reverse. But the two stars in the field probably symbolize the reigning and the former emperor. (2) An aureus of Nero, struck in Greece, has the inscription IVPITER LIBERATOR, a translation of Ζεὺς Ἐλευθεριος with boldly flattering allusion to Nero himself. (3) An aureus of Vitellius, struck at Tarraco, has the inscription A. VITELLIVS IMP, GERMANICVS, "Emperor made in Germany," a boastful and defiant motto. On later coins the last two words were reversed, with less offensive effect. (4) A sestertius of Vitellius has the inscription VRBEM RESTITVIT S. C. The city in question is probably not Rome, but Lugdunum, which Vitellius restored to a position of favor which it had forfeited under Galba. (*J.R.S.* X, 1920, pp. 37-41.)

**Multiple Solidi of the Late Empire.**—Five Roman gold medallions of the fourth century are the subject of a recent study by AGNES BALDWIN: (1) A ternio of Constantinus II, now in the Pierpont Morgan collection, commemorates the decennial festival of this son of Constantine the Great, but was issued in 326 A.D., the year before the actual tenth anniversary of the accession of Constantinus II to the title of Caesar. The posture of the head is significant; it is raised, as is the head of Constantine on coins subsequent to the Council of Nicaea. This attitude as represented on the coins is, according to Eusebius, one of Christian devotion. It is not borrowed, then, from portraits of Alexander the Great; else it would hardly appear on the coins of the younger Constantine. (2) A gold medallion equal to 4½ solidi, also in the Morgan collection, was issued in 336 A.D., the year of the celebration which marked the completion of the thirtieth year of the reign of Constantine, and (by anticipation) the twentieth anniversary of Constantinus Junior. (3) The third medallion, also of Constantine, now in the collection of Dr. de Yoanna, was stamped at Nicomedia and has the value of 1½ solidi. It is one of a number of pieces which the emperor distributed to men of the senatorial and equestrian orders, perhaps on his visit to Rome in 326. (4) A double solidus, now in Berlin, shows a radiate head of Constantine on the obverse, and a gate of Augusta Trevirorum on the reverse. Maurice has dated this coin between 326 and 330; but the inscription AVGG. on this specially minted medallion shows that it must have been issued during the life of Licinius, who shared with Constantine the title of Augustus. It is, therefore, to be dated between 312 and 324. The radiate head is a pagan symbol, in allusion to Constantine's alleged descent from the Sun-god. It appears on coins even after the date of the emperor's conversion to Christianity. The gate on the reverse is not the existing Porta Nigra, but



the Porta Incluta at the bridge head on the Moselle. This is proved by the representation of the bridge on the coin, and confirmed by a mediaeval description of the city. (5) A ternio of Valentinian, now in Brussels, was struck in commemoration of his victory over the Alemanni in 368. Miss Baldwin concludes her study with some general observations on the nature and purpose of these medallions. They were not like private medals, since they were issued only by imperial authority, and since they are regularly multiples of standard coin weights. On the other hand they were not used as ordinary currency. They were issued on special occasions and distributed to specially privileged classes. They seem often to have been adapted to use as personal ornaments, in rich settings. [*Five Roman Gold Medallions, or Multiple Solidi of the Late Empire*, by AGNES BALDWIN. *Num. Not.*, No. 6. New York, 1921, American Numismatic Society. 103 pp.; 5 pls.; 7 figs.; map.]

#### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**Situla of Terra-cotta and other Utensils of the Bronze Age.**—In *Mé. Arch. Hist.* XXXIX, 1921-1922, pp. 25-46 (pl.; 2 figs.), GIOVANNI PANSA publishes three objects all of which are connected with the solar cult of the Bronze Age. The first is a bronze bowl with a high, vertical handle. This handle is adorned with a number of large rings and curves in open work, resembling three solar barks and ending at the top in swans' heads with long beaks. From the outer ring six chains hang down and are held by two swans standing on the rim of the bowl. The second object is also of bronze. It resembles in form a rather short sword, except that the blade is cylindrical and has a sort of cord wound about it, giving it the effect of a screw. The guard of the hilt has the form of a votive bark with each end shaped as a swan's neck and head. The end of the hilt is again a swan. About the hilt are several (apparently eight) loose rings. The third object is a terra-cotta chariot in the writer's private collection. It was found near Canosa. The body of the chariot consists of a swan with spreading tail and drooping wings. A hole in the back may originally have had a lid, perhaps in the form of another swan or of a human being. This small object represents the processional chariot used in the religious (or magic) rites by which the weather was to be affected and rain produced. The loose rings on the sword-like object were probably intended to make a jangling sound, and the object itself was for use in religious rites. In connection with these three objects numerous others are cited as analogies, and cases of the survival in later times of the beliefs and even the ritual of the early times to which the objects belong are discussed.

**Prehistoric Antiquities of Piedmont.**—PIERO BAROCELLI discusses a number of prehistoric antiquities of Piedmont: (1) pre-Roman swords; (2) an axe of pure neolithic type, found near Villeneuve; (3) a *tranchet* obtained from a peasant of Mombasiglio. This latter object is of a type common beyond the Alps, but almost unknown in Italy. (*Bolletino della Società Piemontese di Archeologia e belle Arti*, V, 1921, pp. 40-55; 3 figs.)

**The Lucus Feroniae.**—LILY R. TAYLOR has made a new study of the evidence for the site of the Lucus Feroniae, which is known to have been in the territory of Capena in southeastern Etruria, near Soracte. Opinion has been divided between modern Nazzano and Rignano as possible sites of the ancient grove. Miss Taylor concludes that the evidence decisively favors Nazzano.



(1) The inscription *C.I.L.* XI, 3938, which mentions the *Lucus Feroniae*, is derived from a manuscript of the eleventh century which also contains the Rule of the Sabine monastery Farfa. From another collection of documents it is known that this monastery had numerous holdings on the right bank of the Tiber. Nazzano is several times mentioned as the site of properties of the monastery. Hence the inscription is more likely to have been found at Nazzano than at Rignano. (2) The site of Nazzano satisfies the requirements of Strabo's reference, and also of the testimony regarding Hannibal's visit to the grove. (3) Discoveries on the site make this identification probable. The local inscriptions indicate the existence of an independent municipal organization here. (4) Discoveries at Rignano, on the other hand, show its close association with Falerii. Nazzano is by its situation fitted to be the centre of a Sabine and Latin cult. The worship of Feronia in this grove is to be regarded as a rite of the Italic, not the Etruscan race. (*J.R.S.* X, 1920, pp. 29-36; map.)

**The Lupercalia.**—A dissertation by ALBERTA M. FRANKLIN is devoted to the history and significance of the Lupercalia. Recent discoveries have shown the emphasis which was placed on the worship of the earth goddess in the religion of the Mediterranean race, and justify a renewed discussion of the ceremonies of the Lupercalia, which the Romans regarded as a rite insuring protection, fertility, and purification. The wolf-deity associated with the Lupercalia was a chthonic power, as was the Pelasgian wolf-god of the Greeks. The sacrifice to Lupercus, a rite derived from the Ligurians, was apotropaic in purpose. The goat-god whose worship is also implied in the ceremonies of the Lupercalia was a god of fertility, as in Greece, and his cult is closely associated with that of Juno. Pelasgian Greece also had dog-cults, mainly of Thracian origin, the purpose of which was purificatory. The sacrifice of a dog in the Lupercalia had the same motive, and was probably an element of the ceremony derived through the Sabines from the Greeks of Magna Graecia. The blood ceremony of the Lupercalia recalls Orphic rites, and like them symbolizes the union of the worshipper with the deity. It was probably during the war with Hannibal or the period immediately after it that this orgiastic ceremony was added to the Lupercalia. [*The Lupercalia*, by ALBERTA M. FRANKLIN. New York, 1921, published by the author, 105 pp.; 8vo.]

**The Museum of Novara.**—The archaeological collection of the Museo Civico at Novara is described by G. B. (*Bolletino della Società Piemontese di Archeologia e belle Arti*, V, 1921, pp. 77-83; 4 pls.). It includes some neolithic celts, a few small objects of the Bronze Age, and a number of fibulae and other ornaments of the Iron Age; some Gallic weapons of iron and Gallic pottery; and other objects of the Gallic and Roman periods.

## SPAIN

**A Double-faced Marble Relief.**—In connection with an unusually perfect example now in Barcelona, G. LIPPOLD discusses the class of marble diacs sculptured on both sides, which are known as *oscilla*, and of which some hundred have been found, scattered over the western half of the Roman Empire. Many of them have been published but no complete catalogue has yet been made. They are most numerous in Italy, especially in Herculaneum and Pompeii, where they were hung as ornaments between the columns of the

peristyle in private houses of the third style, but they have been found also in theatres. On Campana reliefs they are shown in the colonnades of the palaestra, and sometimes alternate with similar pelta-shaped reliefs, actual examples of which are also known. This indicates their origin in the clipeus or round Greek shield, so often associated in Greek art with the Amazonian pelta. The marble discs, which are all of approximately Augustan date, are purely decorative and make no attempt to imitate the structure of the shield. The surfaces are not curved, they have rims or borders of many different kinds, and the subjects are rarely such as were used for shield devices. Most of them have higher relief on one side than on the other and a few have the reverse blank, probably once painted. They were occasionally set up on a stand instead of being hung by chains. The rectangular double-faced reliefs, which are a modification of the votive wall-relief, are regularly so placed. The latter have usually a mask on one or both sides. The preponderance of Dionysiac and offertory scenes and the frequent occurrence of torches on the discs have apparently nothing to do with their derivation from shields but show a pre-Roman religious connection of some sort. The Barcelona specimen, sole relic of some wealthy Roman's provincial sojourn, has on one side a young countryman carrying his wares to market and on the other a satyr offering wine before a herm. It is executed with great delicacy, the contours being marked by a slight depression in the ground. The diameter is 34.5 cm. (*Jb. Arch. I. XXXVI*, 1921, pp. 33-44; pl.)

## FRANCE

**The Cavern of Isturitz.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XV, 1922, pp. 1-45 (42 figs.), E. PASSEMAR describes the great two-fold cavern of Isturitz, in the Basque country, and states the conclusions to which he is led by the study of the implements, bones, paintings, sculptures, and engraved drawings discovered. He distinguishes eleven strata, one of which contains thousands of bones of the *ursus spelaeus*. These strata range without interruption from the upper Mousterian to the end of palaeolithic times. The objects found prove that the Aurignacian is earlier than the Solutrean, that magic was practised in the Magdalenian epoch, that the reindeer existed throughout all the periods here represented, but that the climate became noticeably colder toward the end of the Magdalenian epoch. Apparently an equine animal different from the classic quaternary horse existed. The sequence of the forms of bone javelin-heads from the typical Aurignacian to the end of palaeolithic times has been determined, and some of the technical methods employed in their manufacture have been made clear. Among the drawings and relief sculptures are some of very unusual excellence.

**A Female Head at Lyons.**—In *Mon. Piot*, XXIII, 1918-1919, pp. 27-43 (2 pls.; fig.) H. LECHAT discusses a female head recently purchased by the museum at Lyons. The back, which was hollowed out, was undoubtedly finished in stucco, as in many Greek heads of Egyptian derivation. The marble head seems to have been attached to a hollow body probably made of stucco. It is likely that the statue was funerary and, perhaps, inspired by the Niobe.

**The God of the Waters at Aix-en-Provence.**—At Aix-en-Provence, in the thermae of Sextius, excavations have led to the discovery of a Roman *piscina*,

fragments of statues, and an inscription, *Pompeia Antiopa Orbano v.s.* In the third line, an initial *B* of the name is lost. Borbanus (Bormanus, Bormo, Borvo) is the god of thermal waters, who is known at Aix-en-Savoie, at La Bourboule, at Bourbon-Lancy, and at Bourbonne-les-Eaux. (*P., R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIV, 1921, p. 409, from *Débats*, July 21, 1921.)

### SWITZERLAND

**Gallo-Roman Treasures of Goldsmith's Work.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIV, 1921, pp. 243-304 (21 figs.), W. DEONNA describes the treasures of Gallo-Roman goldsmith's work in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire at Geneva. These are: I, the treasure of Reignier (1776); II, the treasure of Saint-Genis (1821); III, treasure I of Cruseilles (1875); IV, treasure II of Cruseilles; V, treasure I of Fins d'Annecy (1902); VI, treasure II of Fins d'Annecy (1912). The last was described and discussed in *R. Arch.* XI, 1920, pp. 112-206. The objects found at the various places mentioned were probably buried for safe-keeping in the troubled years of the third century A.D. They comprise coins, silver *palerae* or other vessels, statuettes, personal ornaments, metal parts of caskets, and the like. They appear to be chiefly, if not entirely, of native manufacture and offer interesting information concerning the technical skill, the household furnishings, the taste, and, in some instances, the religious beliefs of the people.

### SWEDEN

**Gold Rings of the Period of Migrations.**—GUNNAR ECKHOLM discusses the development and relationship of various forms of gold rings belonging to the period of the great European migrations. The great Nordic gold collars were developed by welding together several neck rings of a type common in Eastern Europe in the third century. Three stages of the evolution of the wide gold collar of the fifth century are illustrated. The earliest form originated in the ring ending in a serpent's head. This evolution took place in the East Baltic region, where a later form of the serpent's head ring persisted until the fifth century. (*Fornvännen*, XIII, 1918, pp. 53-60; 3 figs.)

**Solidi in Öland and Gotland.**—T. J. ARNE discusses the significance of two hoards of Roman gold solidi, one of 166 coins, found in Öland, the other of 108 coins found in Gotland. With the exception of one coin of Justinus, all the solidi of the first find date from the fifth century. Of the other, forty-one were issued by Anastasius, who is not represented in the Öland hoard. It is inferred by Dr. Arne that such importations of coins are isolated phenomena. They do not imply a continuous trade in Sweden; probably they were brought in on definite and distinct occasions by South German soldiers who were helping the Götar against the Svear. (*Fornvännen*, XIV, 1919, pp. 107-111.)

**The Later Iron Age in Sweden.**—The later pre-Roman Iron Age or La Tène period in Sweden, according to a recent dissertation by T. J. ARNE, is to be dated from about 300 B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era. Graves of this period are in part under the level surface of the ground, and in part covered with mounds of stone or of earth mixed with stones. Incineration prevails in these early graves. Some contain the burned white bones without ashes; others contain both bones and ashes. The bones in both classes of graves are sometimes contained in clay urns, sometimes buried without any containing

vessel. Some of the graves which are level with the ground are marked by a single stone; others have a pavement below the ground level. The custom of burying ashes with the bones is not found in the Bronze Age, but came into use during the first period of the Iron Age. La Tène graves are rare in South Sweden, except in Öland. (*Fornvännen*, XIV, 1919, pp. 188-223; 12 figs.)

**Oval Fibulae.**—GUNNAR ECKHOLM shows that the oval fibulae in use in Eastern Europe in the early mediaeval period, which show a progressive increase in size, have their prototype in a small bronze clasp which was sewed on garments, and originated about 300 A.D. (*Fornvännen*, XIII, 1918, pp. 78-84; 2 figs.)

**Swedish Weights in the Viking Period.**—T. J. ARNE has published a rejoinder to Dr. F. de Brun's criticism (*Fornvännen*, XII, 1917, pp. 56-66) of his theory of the system of weights prevalent in Sweden during the Viking period (*Fornvännen*, XIII, 1918, pp. 61-64). The controversy is continued by a further article from Dr. DE BRUN (*ibid.* XIV, 1919, pp. 232-241) and a reply by Dr. ARNE (*ibid.* XIV, 1919, pp. 241-245).

**Scandinavian Golden Bracteates.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIV, 1921, pp. 373-395 (30 figs.), D. JANSE discusses the representations on the Scandinavian medals called bracteates. They belong to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. The bird represented on many of them is a falcon, and falconry was practised at that time. The author's chief contention is that the representations have nothing to do with Nordic religion or mythology, but have a historical signification, that they represent Attila, the barbaric chieftain, hunting with a falcon and scenes which have to do with the legends that grew up about the name of Attila.

**The Royal Mounds of Adelsö.**—Opposite Birka in the Mälars Lake lies Adelsö, the site of numerous antiquities of the Iron Age and the early mediaeval period. Among these are the three so-called royal mounds, of which the largest is five meters high. The name may have been derived from an ancient tradition. The mounds belong to the later Iron Age, and cannot be earlier than 750 A.D. They are to be associated with the Svear kings who ruled during the ninth century. Probably some of these kings were actually buried here. (BIRGER NERMAN, *Fornvännen*, XIII, 1918, pp. 65-77; 2 figs.)

## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

**The First Celts in England.**—In a recent paper O. G. S. CRAWFORD submits evidence that "towards the close of the Bronze Age the British Isle was invaded by the first wave of Celtic-speaking peoples, bringing with them leaf-shaped bronze swords, many other entirely new types of bronze objects, and at least two types of pottery new to these regions." The invaders may have been the Goidels, and the date of their arrival about 800-700 B.C. The types of pottery which are specified as evidence of alien occupation are the pots marked with finger-tip impressions found in southern England, and the globular urns of Wessex. These are associated with bronze razors, and with winged axes and other bronze objects characteristic of the Bronze Age in Central Europe. (*Ant. J.* II, 1922, pp. 27-35.)

**Polygonal Earthworks in England.**—Lieut.-Col. J. B. P. KARSLAKE supplements a previous paper on the pre-Roman remains of Silchester (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*

XXXII, pp. 185 ff.) with a study of earth-works of rudely polygonal plan found in this part of England, indicating the course of Gallic immigration from the Sussex coast towards the Berkshire downs at the head-waters of the Thames. There are clear traces of a fortification of polygonal outline around Lambourne. Other remains and place-names of the parish indicate the original Gallic organization of this territory: a *civitas* consisting of several *pagi*; a principal town (Calleva) and smaller towns, such as Lambourne. This system seems to have been maintained in the Roman period; and the modern land measures have been transmitted from these Gallic communities. (*Ant. J. I*, 1921, pp. 303-315.)

**Coldharbours.**—Lieut.-Col. J. B. P. KARSLAKE has presented to the Society of Antiquaries of London a paper on the numerous places in the southern counties of England known as Coldharbours. A topographical examination has led him to the conclusion that these places are to be associated with Gallo-Roman, pre-Saxon communities. Each appears to be within the banlieue or leugata of a Gallic settlement. The cold harbour was a place for the shelter of the cattle of the community in winter. Other names in the immediate neighborhood of these sites point to pre-Saxon settlements. (*Ant. J. II*, 1922, pp. 240-253; 8 figs.)

**Historical Monuments of Essex.**—The English Royal Commission on Historical Monuments has published the second volume of its inventory of the historical monuments of Essex. The present volume is devoted to Central and Southwest Essex. A preface gives a concise general account of prehistoric and later earthworks, Roman remains, and the ecclesiastical and secular architectural monuments of this region. The principal furnishings, fireplaces, stained glass windows, sculptures and paintings associated with these buildings are also mentioned. The preface is followed by an exhaustive inventory with detailed description of the monuments of each parish, arranged as prehistoric, Roman, ecclesiastical, secular, and unclassified. The scope of the book is illustrated by the fact that many old farms, inns and cottages are illustrated and described, as well as the more imposing buildings of the county. In the formal report of the Commission a number of monuments are listed as especially worthy of preservation. [*Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, Vol. II. London, 1921, His Majesty's Stationery Office. xli, 335 pp.; numerous plates, figures, maps, and plans. 4to.]

**Miscellaneous British Antiquities.**—R. A. SMITH discusses (*Ant. J. II*, 1922, pp. 93-104; 10 figs.) a number of British antiquities: (1) The two gold crescents of Harlyn Bay, now in Truro (cf. *Ant. J. I*, 1921, pp. 131 ff.) may be associated in date with the flat celt which was found with them. This belongs to the eighteenth century B.C. Probably both crescents and celt belong to a period before the Celts came to Britain. (2) A model or toy shield of bronze from Hod Hill, Dorset, is from the site of a fort which was probably a centre of resistance to the Claudian invasion, 30-40 A.D. It is of Gallic origin. (3) A stone mould for metal ornaments was discovered near the Roman wall at Hatton Chesters. (4) A Viking "trial piece" found in Banffshire, Scotland, is described as a cylindrical stone engraved with both Christian and pagan emblems. (5) A bone cylinder now in the British Museum is also ornamented with characteristic Viking designs.

**Mills in Ireland and the Story of Ciarnat.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIV, 1921, pp. 362-372, J. VENDRYES, after calling attention to the introduction of the derivative of *fenestra* (*senestir*) along with the thing (window which can be closed), proceeds to the word for "mill," *muilenn* and similar forms, which appears with the introduction of the water-mill. The story that King Cormac caused the first mill in Ireland to be constructed for his beautiful mistress Ciarnat is pure legend.

### NORTHERN AFRICA

**Some Topographical Names of Ancient Carthage.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XV, 1922, pp. 114-118, L. CARTON discusses several modern topographical names which seem to be derived from the ancient names. He mentions *Thamugadi* = *Thugga*, *Nefzawa* = *Nybgennii*, two common nouns, *flous* = *follius*, and *cadous* = *cadus*, *Cartagenna* applied to a region north of the ancient harbors, *Dermèche* = *Ad Thermae* or *Thermis*, *Damous Karila* = *Domus Caritatis* (perhaps), *Rades* = *per rates*, *Qart-Hadasi* = *Catadas*, *Malga* and *Marsa* = *Negara*, *Ksar-Tina* = *Constantina*, *Tebour-Souk* = *Thubursicum*, *Hammam Darradji* = *Bulla Regia*, and suggests that the name of the goddess *Tanit* may be another form of *Dido(n)*, as *Guelma* is another form of *Melek*.

**The Tomb at Lambiridi and African Hermetism.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XV, 1922, pp. 211-301 (pl.), JÉRÔME CARCOPINO describes a tomb found at Lambiridi in 1918 and publishes the mosaic, now in the museum at Alger, which covered its floor. The tomb was that of Cornelia Urbanilla, wife of Tiberius Claudius Vitalis, and was built in the latter part of the third century A.D. The large central medallion or *emblema* of the mosaic is circular and surrounded by a meander pattern. In it a very thin nude male person with prominent breasts sits opposite a powerful, bearded, fully draped man who holds his hand. In segments of circles to right and left are, at the right, two ducks with a vase between them and, at the left, two peacocks and a vase. In smaller segments are, at the top the body of Urbanilla wrapped in a white shroud and lying on a bier, at the bottom, where the mosaic is almost destroyed, apparently a ship. In the spaces at the corners of the nearly square mosaic are four youthful genii whose legs end in serpents with heads and whose arms are held up so that their hands touch the circle. Between the central *emblema* and the segment at the top is an inscription in four lines which the writer, after discussing other possibilities, reads *Eu! ter pi us*. Between the *emblema* and the segment at the bottom are the Greek words *ὅς ἐστιν, ἐγὼ δὲ μὴν, ὅς ἐστιν, ὁ μέγας μοι*. The whole is explained as presenting the symbolism of the mystic Hermetism, which, originating in Egypt, was carried to the more western regions of Africa and flourished there rather modestly from near the end of the first century to about the end of the third. Arnobius was converted from Hermetism to Christianity. The greater part of the article is taken up with the elucidation of the religion of Hermes, its relations to Epicureanism, to Christianity, and to other beliefs against which it had to contend, and to which it bore greater or less similarity.

**A Terra-cotta Statuette in Tunis.**—In *Mon. Piot*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 69-82 (colored pl.) A. MERLIN discusses a painted terra-cotta statuette 33 cm. high in the Museum of the Bardo, Tunis. It was found in 1917 in a large tomb at Carthage and preserves its color intact. It represents a woman standing stiffly in a close-fitting garment and holding in both hands a tambourine which she



seems to be playing. She has on her head a heavy diadem at the top of which is a hole for suspension. There is a row of stiff curls over her forehead and three long curls hang down in front of each shoulder. The whole figure is stiff and has an oriental look. On the cheeks, chin and forehead are red spots denoting tattooing. The statuette appears to date from the sixth century B.C. although the tomb in which it was found dates from the fifth century. It appears to be of Greek manufacture in spite of its Phoenician character. It undoubtedly represents a goddess.

**Conductores Praediorum.**—J. CARCOPINO disputes Poinssot's reading and interpretation of an inscription from the region of Thugga published by him in *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1920, pp. 357-359 (see *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 314). M. Poinssot, regarding *conductoris* in the inscription as an error, reads *conductori*, in apposition with the name of the important man to whom the inscription is dedicated, and accordingly infers the existence of an important office, that of conductor of the imperial estates of the regio Thuggensis. M. Carcopino would read *conductores*, nominative plural, and maintains that these conductores were a fraternal association of publicans who derived their incomes from the several great estates of the region. (*R. Ét. Anc.* XXIV, 1922, pp. 13-36.)

## EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE AND MEDIAEVAL ART GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**The Origin of the Asiatic Sarcophagi.**—In *The Art Bulletin*, IV, 1922, pp. 64-70 (13 figs.), C. R. MOREY gives a *résumé* of his study of the provenance of the earlier group of so-called Sidamara sarcophagi, that is, those that were produced during the second half of the second century A.D. The distribution of places in which the known examples of this group have been found indicates Lydia as the region in which they were made. Especially positive is the evidence given by the sarcophagus found by Professor Butler at Sardis. A study of this together with the remains of the tomb of Claudia, to which it belonged, shows that it was made with reference to the tomb and could not have been prepared far from Sardis. Certain details common to architectural sculpture and sarcophagi at Ephesus and to sarcophagi elsewhere in Asia Minor and in Italy suggest Ephesus as the exact location of the atelier that produced these earlier sarcophagi and as the seaport from which they were distributed. The evidence for the location of the atelier of the later group is not so decisive; it was apparently in some northern coastal city, as Nicaea, Cysicus, or Nicomedia. (See also *A.J.A.* XXVI, 1922, pp. 83-84.)

**The Story of Joseph in Literature and Art of the First Twelve Centuries.**—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* XXXIX, 1921-1922, pp. 193-211, PIERRE FABRE sketches the development of the story of Joseph in the literature and art of the first twelve centuries. It appears in literature as early as Tertullian, but is not found in the art of the catacombs. In art it appears in the fourth century as part of the history of Israel in narrative and in allegorical series. It is seldom found from the sixth to the twelfth century, and reaches its fullest development in the thirteenth century in the windows of Gothic churches.

**Religious Plays in the Greek Church.**—In *Mon. Piot*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 101-128 (4 pls.; 12 figs.) L. BRÉHIER brings forward further evidence to prove that the Greek church between the sixth and ninth centuries presented religious



plays or homilies in dramatic form. The miniatures in two manuscripts of the Homilies of the monk Jacobus of Coccinobaphos (Codex Parisinus, Gr. 1028 and Codex Vaticanus, Gr. 1162, both dating from the first half of the twelfth century) supply the evidence, which is more convincing than any yet presented. The writer tabulates the different scenes.

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**Coins as Illustrations of Armor.**—B. DEAN illustrates from the collections of the Metropolitan Museum the use of coins and medals in the study of the history of mediaeval armor. (*B. Metr. Mus.* XVII, 1922, pp. 180-182; 4 figs.)

#### ITALY

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seems to be playing. She has on her head a heavy diadem at the top of which is a hole for suspension. There is a row of stiff curls over her forehead and three long curls hang down in front of each shoulder. The whole figure is stiff and has an oriental look. On the cheeks, chin and forehead are red spots denoting tattooing. The statuette appears to date from the sixth century B.C. although the tomb in which it was found dates from the fifth century. It appears to be of Greek manufacture in spite of its Phoenician character. It undoubtedly represents a goddess.

**Conductores Praediorum.**—J. CARCOPINO disputes Poinssot's reading and interpretation of an inscription from the region of Thugga published by him in *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1920, pp. 357-359 (see *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 314). M. Poinssot, regarding *conductoris* in the inscription as an error, reads *conductori*, in apposition with the name of the important man to whom the inscription is dedicated, and accordingly infers the existence of an important office, that of conductor of the imperial estates of the regio Thuggensis. M. Carcopino would read *conductores*, nominative plural, and maintains that these conductores were a fraternal association of publicans who derived their incomes from the several great estates of the region. (*R. Ét. Anc.* XXIV, 1922, pp. 13-36.)

## EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE AND MEDIAEVAL ART GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**The Origin of the Asiatic Sarcophagi.**—In *The Art Bulletin*, IV, 1922, pp. 64-70 (13 figs.), C. R. MOREY gives a *résumé* of his study of the provenance of the earlier group of so-called Sidamara sarcophagi, that is, those that were produced during the second half of the second century A.D. The distribution of places in which the known examples of this group have been found indicates Lydia as the region in which they were made. Especially positive is the evidence given by the sarcophagus found by Professor Butler at Sardis. A study of this together with the remains of the tomb of Claudia, to which it belonged, shows that it was made with reference to the tomb and could not have been prepared far from Sardis. Certain details common to architectural sculpture and sarcophagi at Ephesus and to sarcophagi elsewhere in Asia Minor and in Italy suggest Ephesus as the exact location of the atelier that produced these earlier sarcophagi and as the seaport from which they were distributed. The evidence for the location of the atelier of the later group is not so decisive; it was apparently in some northern coastal city, as Nicaea, Cyzicus, or Nicomedia. (See also *A.J.A.* XXVI, 1922, pp. 83-84.)

**The Story of Joseph in Literature and Art of the First Twelve Centuries.**—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* XXXIX, 1921-1922, pp. 193-211, PIERRE FABRE sketches the development of the story of Joseph in the literature and art of the first twelve centuries. It appears in literature as early as Tertullian, but is not found in the art of the catacombs. In art it appears in the fourth century as part of the history of Israel in narrative and in allegorical series. It is seldom found from the sixth to the twelfth century, and reaches its fullest development in the thirteenth century in the windows of Gothic churches.

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have been of another material and inlaid. The bronze may be dated in the fifth century (*Ant. J.* II, 1922, pp. 255-256; fig.). O. M. DALTON is quoted as attributing this work to a date earlier than the fifth century (*Ibid.* p. 256).

**The Sanctuary of San Lorenzo.**—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* XXXIX, 1921-1922, pp. 3-24, Mgr. L. DUCHESNE discusses the history of the sanctuary of San Lorenzo on the Via Tiburtina with the following results: In 258 and until Constantine it was a subterranean tomb. In the fourth century the subterranean tomb communicated by a stairway with a basilica built above ground, a condition which persisted until Pelagius II. Of that basilica there remain only the inscription of Leopardus, preserved in manuscripts, and the white marble columns transported to the basilica of Pelagius. In the fifth century Sixtus III built behind (i.e., to the west of) the Constantinian basilica a second basilica called *maior*. Under Pelagius II the Constantinian basilica was removed and its site excavated to the level of the tomb. At this level a new basilica was built in which the original apse was preserved and the marble columns utilized. Towards the end of the eighth century, the *basilica maior* was placed under the name of St. Mary. The church ceased to be the basilica of St. Lawrence and that which is in the *Liber Pontificalis* said of the foundation of Sixtus III began to be referred to the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina. Under Honorius III the *basilica maior* was demolished, as were also the apse and transept of the basilica of Pelagius. From the naves of this latter a choir was formed which extends behind a new high altar, that which is directly over the tomb. At the west of this old part Honorius III erected the naves and the portico which exist today.

**The Basilica of S. Salvatore near Spoleto.**—M. SALMI discusses the vicissitudes of the basilica of S. Salvatore near Spoleto. From the earliest building, which probably belonged to the fourth century, much of the façade and presbytery still remain. Details of the façade, in particular, have served as direct inspiration for later architects, especially for those of the Renaissance, such as Francesco di Giorgio, Sebastiano Serlio, and the Sanmicheli. Probably the most interesting part of Salmi's study is that of the origin of the style of the architectural and ornamental features of the basilica from Roman and oriental prototypes. (*Dedalo*, II, 1922, pp. 628-645; 17 figs.)

**S. Pietro at Toscanella.**—E. LAVAGNINO studies the church of S. Pietro at Toscanella, which dates, in its oldest fragments, from the eighth century. From this period there are capitals, the apse, and various pieces of sculpture. To the end of the ninth century belong some paintings in the crypt, and various restorations, paintings, and sculptures may be dated in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. One does not need to go beyond the portal to find good examples of all these periods. (*L'Arte*, XXIV, 1921, pp. 215-223; 9 figs.)

**The Treasure of San Francesco d'Assisi.**—U. GNOLI writes on the most important objects in the sacristy of San Francesco at Assisi. Already in the early years of the fourteenth century valuable parts of the treasure were pilaged, and this process has continued through the centuries. Nevertheless, much still remains of great importance. And the author describes reliquaries, crosses, chalices, statuettes, and miniatures of the thirteenth century and later. (*Dedalo*, II, 1921, pp. 421-441, 555-579; 41 figs.)

**Early Frescoes in Perugia.**—M. SALMI describes and studies the remnants of frescoes in the old chapel of Sta. Catherine and Peter Martyr in the Church

of S. Domenico, Perugia. The frescoes are mentioned by Vasari, but his ascription of them to Buffalmacco is incorrect. The author, or authors, cannot be named, though two definitely characterized hands may be discerned in the work, one of Giottesque following, the other of Siennese (particularly as represented by Simone Martini and Ambrogio Lorenzetti), and the date must lie in the second half of the fourteenth century. (*L'Arte*, XXV, 1922, pp. 403-426; 35 figs.)

**An Annunciation Group.**—In *Art in America*, X, 1922, pp. 57-63 (pl.), S. RUBENSTEIN studies the stylistic qualities of the two sculptured figures of the Virgin and the Angel of the Annunciation in the Dreiser collection of the Metropolitan Museum. The characteristics of the work are those of the artists in Florence immediately preceding Ghiberti, and its author may be looked upon as one of the masters who prepared the way for the golden age of Italian sculpture.

**Duccio and Simone Martini.**—Two paintings are raised in rank by A. VENTURI: A Madonna in the Glyptotheca, Copenhagen, which was formerly attributed to the school of Duccio is assigned to Duccio himself, and a painting of St. Catherine in the Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna, is shown to be the work of Simone Martini instead of that of Lippo Memmi. (*L'Arte*, XXIV, 1921, pp. 198-200; 2 figs.)

**A Pisan Annunciation.**—A marble statue of the Angel of the Annunciation in an English private collection is shown by R. FRY (*Buff. Mag.* XL, 1922, p. 54; pl.), to correspond to a figure of the Virgin in the Louvre. The exact author of the group would be hard to name, but the work is clearly that of the first generation of Giovanni Pisano's pupils; it belongs, therefore, to the first half of the fourteenth century.

#### SPAIN

**A Bronze Polykandelon.**—W. L. HILDBURGH describes a polykandelon of bronze which he bought in Granada. It was found in or near the ruins of Medina Elvira near Atarfe. He compares it with other polykandela in the Granada Museum. It resembles very closely one which is preserved in the Cairo Museum. It may have been imported into Spain through Byzantium. Or it may be Visigothic work in imitation of Eastern models. (*Ant. J.* I, 1921, pp. 328-337; 7 figs.)

#### FRANCE

**French Bronzes of the Twelfth Century.**—O. VON FALKE's discussion in *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 47-59 (10 figs.), of the bronze statuette of a prophet in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (Fig. 5) resolves itself into a study of Nicolaus von Verdun. For the nearest analogy to this unusually fine specimen of Romanesque bronze, so classic in design and so splendidly executed as to be worthy of the best Renaissance sculptors, is offered by the figures on the bronze lamp in the cathedral at Milan. And by comparing the details of this lamp with authentic productions by Nicolaus it is shown to be his work. At the same time, other bronze pieces, such as the lamp pedestals at Rheims and Prague, are brought into the circle of this artist's activity. But the more careful treatment of drapery and the pleasing arrangement of lines that one finds in the statuette of the prophet in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum betray a different spirit from that of Nicolaus, so that this work cannot be assigned to

him, but to one of his pupils, perhaps to the one who created the two cross reliquaries in Trier, and it is accordingly to be dated about 1220.

**Montreuil-sous-Bois and Master Pierre de Montreuil.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIV, 1921, pp. 239-242, J. DE LAUNAY cites church records of the thirteenth century and other documents which prove that the architect Pierre de Montreuil was from the village of Montreuil-sous-Bois, not from the city of Montreuil (Seine-et-Marne). The documents give information concerning various members of the family of Montreuil.

**A French Primitive.**—H. PASCAL has written a detailed description and analysis of a three-paneled composition in the church of Saint-Vulfran d'Abbeville which figured in the 1904 Exposition of French primitives. The

subject of the central panel is the Last Judgment; in each side panel is an individual answering the call of the last trumpet. The influences evident in the work are so many and varied that any definite conclusions regarding its origin and date are difficult. It seems most probable that it comes from a secondary school of Ponthieu of the late fourteenth century. (*Gaz. B.-A. V.*, 1922, pp. 249-260; 3 figs.)

**The Church of Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois.**—In *Gaz. B.-A. V.*, 1922, pp. 137-157 (8 figs.), L. LEFRANÇOIS-PILLION writes on the mediaeval church in the little village of Saint-Thibault (Côte-d'Or): The church has not been entirely neglected in previous art literature, but it is the sculptures that are here dealt with; their subject matter is analyzed and their dates of origin determined. Most important among the sculp-



FIGURE 5.—BRONZE STATUETTE OF A PROPHET: BERLIN.

tures are the decorations of the north portal (second half of the thirteenth century) and a polychrome retable (early fourteenth century).

**Ceramics in Southeastern France.**—R. DE CABRENS studies a type of Gothico-Moresque pottery found in the southeastern provinces of France. It is all in fragments, but the fragments are large enough to indicate the styles of decoration, and the kinds of vessels and dishes from which they came. The decorations are in green, manganese, blue, and red, and show some relationship to the pottery found at Paterna. The pottery under discussion was evidently used by all classes, and its date seems to be from about the middle of the fourteenth century through the fifteenth. The problem of its origin cannot yet be solved. (*Faenza*, IX, 1921, pp. 84-92; 4 pls.)

**Sainte Reine and the Excavations at Alesia.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XV, 1922, pp. 346-350, HENRY COROT (reprinted from *Le Bien Public*, Dijon,



December 21 and 24, 1921) gives, from documents, the chief dates in the history of the body and sarcophagus of Sainte Alise. They tend to show that no sarcophagus recently discovered is the Saint's, whose "basilica" should probably be sought near the entrance to the town. Holes in sarcophagi were in almost all cases made for the purpose of robbery, not in order to allow worshippers to touch the sacred relics.

#### GERMANY

**A Late Gothic Group.**—The group of sculptured stone figures, representing the Mount of Olives scene, in the Jacob church at Rothenburg is the subject of a critical study by W. VON GROLMAN (*Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 31-34; 4 figs.). Upon close observation one detects a dissimilarity among the figures. Some of the accompanying ones are quite unlike the boldly sculptured form of the Christ, for example. They are more like the figures of the old altar in the same church and may be an early work by the same artist. Their date would be soon after the middle of the fifteenth century, while the later figures belong to the early sixteenth. Some documentary material bears out the internal evidence in this dating.

**The Goldsmiths of Oignies.**—An altar-cross in the Victoria and Albert Museum and a chalice in the Borgia church, Finland, are ascribed by H. P. MITCHELL (*Burl. Mag.* XXXIX, 1921, pp. 273-285; 3 pls.), to the goldsmiths of Oignies in the first half of the thirteenth century. The name of the artist, Sifridus, is inscribed on the chalice.

**German Primitives.**—HERMANN SCHMITZ reports that the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum has recently acquired a number of German paintings of about 1400 A.D. He selects for special description a representation of the Virgin as spinning, to be attributed to a southeast German, probably Austrian artist; and a picture of unusual type, in which the dead Christ is represented in a sitting posture at the foot of the cross, with St. Mary and St. John seated on the ground near by. It is difficult to determine the origin of this painting with certainty. But some traits, especially the picturesque landscape, suggest an artist of southwest Germany who had immediate connection with the Burgundian school. (*Ber. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 28-30; 2 figs.)

#### SWEDEN

**Shingled Walls.**—ANDERS ROLAND discusses and illustrates the practice of facing stone walls of Northern Romanesque churches with shingles for protection of the joints. (*Fornvännen*, XIII, 1918, pp. 83-90; 6 figs.)

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

**Rievaulx Abbey.**—C. R. PEERS, in calling attention to two leaden relic holders discovered at Rievaulx Abbey in the valley of the Rye in Yorkshire, discusses the original form of the church, which was the earliest large Cistercian church in Great Britain, and the alterations in its plan which were made in the fourteenth century. (*Ant. J.* I, 1921, pp. 271-282; 2 figs.)

**Irish Bronzes.**—E. C. R. ARMSTRONG describes a group of small bronze objects which were found in 1848 near Navan Station on the River Boyne. One is a disc with a stud in the shape of a dog's head, for the attachment of a chain. A similar object is found in the collection from Killua Castle, recently



sold. The Navan find also includes plaques of copper or bronze gilt, showing interlaced and spiral patterns with some animal motives. These were probably harness ornaments. There were also horse bits and other parts of a harness. These fragments cannot be earlier than the eighth century, and may be probably dated in the ninth or the early tenth. (*Ant. J.* II, 1922, pp. 6-12; pl.; 3 figs.)

## RENAISSANCE ART

### ITALY

**A Painting by Carpaccio.**—In describing Carpaccio's picture of St. Eustace in a Landscape, in the collection of Mr. Otto H. Kahn, New York, R. OFFNER (*Art in America*, X, 1922, pp. 127-132; pl.) writes a brief essay on the character of Venetian art in general and of Carpaccio's art in particular.

**Andrea del Castagno at Venice.**—In *Burl. Mag.* XL, 1922, pp. 11-17 (2 pls.), G. FIOCCO discusses the fresco decoration of the apse of the chapel of S. Tarasio in S. Zaccaria, Venice, which explains the evidences of Andrea del Castagno's influence upon art in the Veneto: the principal part of the painting in the apse is shown to have been done by Andrea. (See also *L'Arte*, XXIV, 1921, pp. 85-89; *A.J.A.* XXVI, 1922, p. 120.)

**The Halberdier by Pontormo.**—A painting by Pontormo of such striking beauty as to be compared to the charioteer of Delphi is discussed by F. J. MATHER, JR. (*Art in America*, X, 1922, pp. 66-69; pl.). It is not the portrait of Francesco Guardi, as some have thought. In fact, it does not look like the portrait of any definite individual, but rather a representation of the universal soldier.

**Cesare da Sesto.**—The Morellian method of study is used by E. DE LIPHART (*Rass d'Arte*, VIII, 1921, pp. 397-406; 9 figs.), in attributing a number of works to Cesare da Sesto.

**Drawings by Leonardo.**—In *L'Arte*, XXV, 1922, pp. 1-6 (4 figs.), A. VENTURI publishes four drawings, formerly unknown or attributed to other artists, in which he detects the hand of Leonardo. They are: A Verrocchiesque head of a girl in the Albertina, Vienna, formerly attributed to Lorenzo di Credi; a study for the Madonna del Gatto, discovered and acquired by Mr. Arthur H. Pollen, London, which is characterized by a more perfect rhythm than any of the previously known studies for the group; a sheet in the ducal palace at Weimar containing studies of the Christ Child and the lamb for the Saint Ann of the Louvre; and a caricature drawing of engraver-like technique in the King collection, London.

**A Cartoon by Raphael.**—The Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin has acquired a fragment of Raphael's cartoon for the Madonna of the Duke of Terranuova, representing the head of the Virgin. It belongs to the period of Raphael's removal from Perugia to Florence, and stands very near the Sposalizio in style. (OSKAR FISCHER, *Ber. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 13-14; 2 figs.)

**Francia and Costa.**—A. VENTURI describes two previously unpublished masterpieces, the Madonna, in a Vienna private collection, by Francesco Francia, and St. Sebastian in the collection of the Counts Cassoli in Reggio Emilia. The Madonna, which probably dates soon after 1492, is one of the best examples of the religious spirit of Francia's art. The St. Sebastian is a

youthful work of Costa's and shows his interest in muscular development and striking effects in light and shade. (*L'Arte*, XXIV, 1921, pp. 185-188; 3 figs.)

**A Portrait of Bernardo de' Rossi.**—The painted terra-cotta bust of a prelate in the cathedral at Treviso, formerly looked upon as a portrait of Broccardo Malchiostro, is shown by L. COLETTI (*Rass. d'Arte*, VIII, 1921, pp. 407-420; pl.; 12 figs.), to represent the bishop Bernardo de' Rossi. The simple, monumental work, done in about 1520 to 1523, proves to be of much greater beauty when examined closely than when seen from where one must usually look at it. After a detailed study, Coletti suggests Andrea Briosco as the author. To him also may be due the same bishop's beautiful seal, representing the Madonna and two saints, in the Archivio Vescovile, Treviso.

**Some Renaissance Portraits.**—A. VENTURI has studied the authorship of several interesting portraits of men. A cameo-like profile portrait in Hampton Court he attributes to Baldovinetti. A portrait of a man at a parapet, in the Uffizi, which there bears the name of Lorenzo di Credi, is attributed to Perugino; while another portrait, in the provincial museum of Hannover, which is there attributed to Perugino, is shown to be the work of Francia. Finally, a portrait in the Glyptothek of Copenhagen is referred to the first period of Titian, at about the time he painted the Pitti Concert. (*L'Arte*, XXV, 1922; pp. 10-14; 4 figs.)

**A Renaissance Birth-Plate.**—T. BORENIUS publishes a birth-plate painted by the sixteenth century artist Bacchiacca, in the collection of Mr. Frederick A. White. It is of unusual interest both as being one of the latest known examples of Renaissance birth-plates and because its subject, representing a crystal-gazing scene, is unique in the decoration of these plates. (*Burl. Mag.* XL, 1922, pp. 131-132; 2 figs.)

**Votive Tablets of Lonigo.**—G. FOGOLARI writes on the oldest and most interesting examples among the almost countless votive tablets of the Madonna of the Miracles in the sanctuary of Lonigo. They date from the late fifteenth century onward. Most of them are of simple conception and rude execution, but they are interesting in their faithful reproduction of customs, clothes, and furnishings of their time and also in their reflection of the more pretentious art of the neighboring towns of Verona and Vicenza. (*Dedalo*, II, 1922, pp. 580-603; 19 figs.)

**Italian Naval Art.**—The art of naval warfare in sixteenth century Italy and the types of ships, often adorned with the work of real artists of the time, are discussed by U. NEBBIA (*Dedalo*, II, 1921, pp. 442-462; 13 figs.). The information is drawn from drawings and paintings of the ships of Andrea Doria in the palace of the prince and the city museum of Genoa.

**Fifteenth Century Glass.**—Two pieces of remarkable work in glass made in Murano and now in the civic library at Trent are described by A. VENTURI (*L'Arte*, XXIV, 1921, pp. 237-240; 2 figs.). One is a plate with a female portrait showing the influence of Piero della Francesca and with a rich border of vines and birds in which Byzantine splendor is reflected. The work may be attributed to Angelo Beroviero, who died in 1461. To his son, Marino, may belong the work on the second piece, a loving cup, where the style of Carpaccio is seen in the two medallion portraits.

**A Collection of Majolica.**—A. DEL VITA describes the most important pieces in the collection of majolica belonging to Count Frassineto, Florence. Besides

a rich collection of Spanish-Arabic pottery there is an important representation of Tuscan ware of the fifteenth century, and of sixteenth century specimens from Deruta, Faenza, and Urbino. (*Dedalo*, II, 1922, pp. 507-536; pl.; 22 figs.)

**Pattern Models.**—MARC ROSENBERG has published a brief discussion of the origin and use of terra-cotta relief models of Renaissance date. He does not agree with Bode in associating them closely with copper engraving, since they are of distinctly earlier origin. Nor is the fact that some were made by goldsmiths a proof that they were of immediate use in the goldsmith's craft. They seem to have been made in part for their own sake; but also served as models in various minor arts. (*Ber. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 37-46; 6 figs.)

### SPAIN

**A Spanish Altarpiece.**—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXIX, 1921, pp. 229-247 (pl.), J. A. Y REVILLA writes on a very important painting of the Madonna adored by donor and nuns which was formerly in the convent of St. Clara, Valladolid. It seems that the painting is now in the possession of the painter, Zuloaga, and it is hoped that it may be restored to Valladolid. The work is believed by the present author to be attributable to the Flemish artist Michael Sittum, and was probably done in 1515, when that artist was in Valladolid. A painting from the convent of St. Thomas, Avila, and now in the Prado Museum, is attributed to the same artist. It seems likely that the donor of the painting was a member of the rich Boniseni family.

**Two El Grecos.**—T. BORENIUS calls attention to an important painting of The Magdalen, of El Greco's second period, in the Worcester Museum, and R. R. TATLOCK makes the first publication of a bust of John the Baptist, belonging to the artist's last period. The latter painting is in the London collection of Miss Gertrude Davies. (*Burl. Mag.* XL, 1922, pp. 208-213; 2 pls.)

### FRANCE

**Jacques des Rousseaux.**—A. BREDINS writes on the work of a forgotten French painter of the early seventeenth century, Jacques des Rousseaux, and gives a list of documents relating to him. This artist lived in Leyden and was a close follower of Rembrandt, as is shown by the fact that some of his paintings have been attributed to that superior master. Among the most interesting portraits by the French artist are one of himself, three of Rembrandt's father, and one of Rembrandt's mother. (*Gaz. B.-A.* V, 1922, pp. 1-12; 8 figs.)

**Lost Sixteenth Century Paintings.**—In *Gaz. B.-A.* IV, 1921, pp. 331-339 (5 figs.), C. SAMARAN describes the mural paintings which once decorated the walls of the chapel of the Hotel de Guise and disappeared about a century ago. He gives documentary evidence to show that the designer of these lively religious pictures was Primaticcio, while Nicolò dell' Abbate, to whom the paintings have been attributed, can be credited with only the execution of the superior artist's designs. An interesting feature of the pictures was their portraits of contemporaries, in such compositions as The Adoration of the Magi.

**A Tondo of the Time of Charles VI.**—In *Mon. Piot*, XXIII, 1918-1919, pp. 63-111 (pl.; 14 figs.) P. DURRIEU discusses a tondo presented to the Louvre a few years ago by Maurice Fenaille. It represents a Pietà. It is French work of the time of Charles VI, but the painter cannot be determined with certainty.

**The Legend of the King of Mercia in a Fifteenth Century Manuscript.**—In *Mon. Piot*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 149-182 (2 pls.; 5 figs.) Comte P. DURRIEU discusses a fifteenth century Book of Hours which contains some very interesting miniatures. They are the work of a skilful illuminator who was either Philippe de Mazerolles or some one from his atelier. Two large ones are especially noteworthy. One represents the Annunciation, and below it on a smaller scale Adam and Eve about to eat the fatal apple. The other represents King David in prayer, and below, also on a smaller scale, five figures. A man sleeping near a fountain is being awakened by an older man in a long robe, while before them stand three nude women. The scene is to be interpreted as the Legend of the King of Mercia. According to the story the fictitious Alfred III, King of Mercia, while visiting one of his subjects was struck with the beauty of one of his host's daughters. The father fearing that the king would choose one of the girls for a concubine, stripped them and sword in hand brought them before the king, declaring that if he wished to choose one for his wife all would be well, but if he was planning the dishonor of one of them he, their father, would slay them all. The king chose the second daughter for his wife. The legend seems to have been localized in Germany, but this manuscript shows its existence in northern France. In its origin the legend may go back to the story of the Judgment of Paris.

**A French Wood-carving.**—W. STECHOW discusses a relief from the choir-stalls of the Château Gaillon in Normandy, now in the collection of the Berlin Museums. It unites Italian Renaissance ornament with some French traits in the representation of human figures and is interesting as an example of mixed styles. (*Ber. Kunsts.* XLII, 1922, pp. 33-35; 2 figs.)

#### BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

**A Model by il Fiammingo.**—A relief in dark wax mounted on a wooden panel, and representing a concert of putti, was acquired some years ago by the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum. On stylistic grounds it is attributed by F. Schottmüller to Frans Duquesny (il Fiammingo). The emphasis on the essential and the easy, fresh, competent technique permit no other attribution. (*Ber. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 14-17; 3 figs.)

**More Paintings by Adriaen Brouwer.**—W. VON BODE adds some important examples to the list of Adriaen Brouwer's works, showing his early style and his achievement in landscape painting. An example of the early period is The School in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Its most striking feature is its brilliant color design. Five landscape paintings in various places are added by Bode. They indicate a relationship to Rubens in their splendid coloring and light and to Rembrandt in their use of shade and in mood. Brouwer reveals himself in this field of painting as an impressionist in as true a sense as any painter of modern times. (*Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 35-46; 10 figs.)

**A Painting by Jacob van Loo.**—The Kaiser-Friedrich Museum has acquired a genre painting by Jacob van Loo, representing a young mother nursing an infant, and an older child playing with a dog. (W. VON BODE, *Ber. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 4-6; fig.)

GERMANY

**A Crucifixion by Grünewald.**—In the recent active interest in Grünewald critics have been on the alert for the lost panel painting of the Crucifixion originally owned by Duke Wilhelm of Bayern and long known only from the description, drawings, and copies. In *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.* XLIII, 1922, pp. 60-62 (pl.), M. J. FRIEDLÄNDER publishes a painting lately acquired from a private collection by Herr Schoene at Essen which is believed to be the



FIGURE 6.—CRUCIFIXION BY MATTHIAS GRÜNEWALD: ESSEN.

much desired original (Fig. 6). It is in a fairly good state of preservation and forms a valuable addition to the monuments ascribable to Grünewald.

**The Krodel Family of Painters.**—W. JUNIUS discusses the artistic development of the Krodel family, the most important members of which were Wolfgang the elder (1528-60) and his nephew Mathias the elder (1550-1605). They were natives of Schneeberg, but their artistic derivation was from Wittenberg, from the workshop of Cranach. Whether the influence of Cranach, so evident in their work, was received directly or indirectly cannot, with the present data, be determined. The Krodel painters were not mere imitators. They show an independent personality that gives interest to their work. (*Mh. f. Kunstw.* XV, 1921, pp. 253-261; 5 pls.)

## AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**The Archaeology of Maine.**—A recent study by WARREN K. MOOREHEAD on the archaeology of Maine is a contribution to the solution of the problems of man's antiquity in the far east of the continent. It gives abundant reason for the author's opinion that the so-called Red Paint people were an independent group apart from the builders of the great shell heaps on the Maine coast and also distinct from the Beothuk of Newfoundland. "The utter absence of forms common to Indian graves elsewhere in the United States is characteristic of the graves. This is our strongest evidence that they are not to be classed with Iroquoian or Algonkian and brings us to our final observation, that the Red Paint people lived before the construction of shell-heaps and before the Algonkian development in Maine." [*A Report on the Archaeology of Maine.* By WARREN K. MOOREHEAD. Andover, Mass., 1922, Phillips Academy. 272 pp.; 123 figs.; 21 plans.]

**The "Blond" Eskimos.**—D. JENNESS has published a critical review of Stefánsson's theory of the possible Scandinavian ancestry of the Eskimo in Victoria Island, with observations which invalidate Stefánsson's position. (*Am. Anthr.* XXIII, 1921, pp. 257-267.)

**Mounds in Florida.**—CLARENCE B. MOORE has published a study of additional mounds of Duval and Clay Counties, Florida. (*Ind. Not.* 71 pp.; 6 figs.; map.)

**Ifugao Economics.**—The economics of the Ifugao are the subject of a recent monograph by R. F. BARTON. [*University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, XV, 1922, No. 5; 61 pp.; 7 pls.]

**Spanish Influence in Caspinchango.**—SALVADOR DEBENEDETTI has published an analysis of the contents of graves in Caspinchango (Catamarca), showing the absence of Inca influence, and establishing a chronological position for culture levels on this site. [*La Influencia Hispanica en los Yacimientos Arqueológicos de Caspinchango.* Por Salvador Debenedetti. Buenos Aires, 1921, Sección Antropológica de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, 46 pp.; 26 figs.]